The Proclamation of Emancipation.

p. 193.

UNION AND ANTI-SLAVERY SPEECHES,

DELIVERED

DURING THE REBELLION:

BY

CHARLES D. DRAKE.

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PREFACE.

It is with no reluctance that I have acceded to the suggestions of friends in the publication of this book; nor is any apology deemed necessary for its appearance. It contains the fruits of the most earnest labor of my life, and speaks the supreme convictions of my judgment and conscience, and the intense emotions of my heart, concerning the terrible struggle through which our country is now passing. If I know myself in any tolerable degree, that labor has been prompted solely by a sense of patriotic duty, regardless of consequences to myself. It has, indeed, been a labor of love for my country, for Truth, Liberty, and Humanity. I know no valid reason why the utterances flowing from it, which, in a greater or less degree, secured attention in almost every part of the loyal States, at the time they appeared in the public journals of the day, should not, in a more permanent form, continue to have such measure of influence as their arguments and appeals are capable of exerting. My only regret is, that I could not have thrown into them a hundredfold greater power.

This publication is made under circumstances which forbid my receiving any pecuniary benefit from it. All the profits of its sale, therefore, are to go, as the title-page indicates, to a patriotic and benevolent association of ladies in my own city, to be expended for the relief of such of the brave soldiers of the Republic as may, through wounds or sickness, need the ministrations of

some of the noblest women that have, by their high-hearted and self-sacrificing labors during the war, glorified their sex, and blessed their country in the day of its affliction and mourning.

The reader will probably observe the progressive development of opinion and feeling in regard to the institution of Slavery, from the Fourth of July, 1861, when I referred to it only remotely, to the twenty-second of February, 1864, when I urged its complete and final extirpation from the whole land; and may also note the advance from the position of April, 1862, in favor of its *gradual* removal from Missouri, to that of September, 1863, declaring for "Emancipation, immediate, unconditional, final," in that State. These progressions were but the results of an education by current events, whose power I could no more resist, than a tree can resist leafing, when the spring sap flows into its thirsty pores. They indicate such change only as that of the child into the man; and I pity him who, from passion, prejudice, selfishness, ambition, party associations, devotion to Slavery, or aught else, voluntarily remains a child as to our country's mortal contest for its life, when, by casting off their shackles, he might straightway rise to the stature of manhood in patriotism.

It is in no fanatical spirit that the word "anti-Slavery" is embodied in the title of this book. The conviction is so overpowering within me, that there is no good future to this nation, but through the total destruction of Slavery, that I do not shrink from inviting others, by the title of the book, to scrutinize the grounds upon which that conviction rests. And in styling them "Union *and* anti-Slavery Speeches," instead of one or the other alone, I purpose to suggest the absolute inseparability, henceforth, of Union and anti-Slaveryism; just as Daniel Webster, by a similar form of expression, pronounced "Union and Liberty" to be one and inseparable. If that conviction is wrong, the words dictated by it will speedily be forgotten; but if it is right—as millions in this land now believe, who did not so believe three

years ago—then its flame will leap from heart to heart through the nation, until the whole mighty mass of its loyal people, with one fiery and resistless onset, will sweep Slavery the accursed, with all its hideous wrongs and remorseless crimes, from America, to be known there no more for ever.

It will be observed that three of the speeches—those at pages 308, 337, and 377—have special reference to the phase which the rebellion, either in its direct workings, or in its collateral influences in connection with Slavery, has assumed in Missouri. Did they refer merely to local politics, I would not have included them here; but it is not so. The contest in that ill-fated State, which has attracted the attention of the country, has been, and still is, between Loyalty and Disloyalty: the particular questions of State policy, concerning which it has occurred, having been but the occasion for starting into action the innate and irrepressible antagonism between those discordant elements. It is only another form of the conflict which in the South is waged by arms. Any history of the rebellion will be incomplete which does not analyze and portray it. Hence, though these speeches treat ostensibly of Missouri affairs, they relate, in fact, to the rebellion, in one of its insidious and dangerous forms, under the very folds of the Old Flag; and while, because of their seeming local character, they may not as readily as the others attract the notice of readers in other States, yet they will be found to elucidate matters which it were well for all reading and thinking men to understand, and their insertion here will make the volume more acceptable to those with whom I have labored for Missouri's regeneration.

St. Louis, May, 1864.

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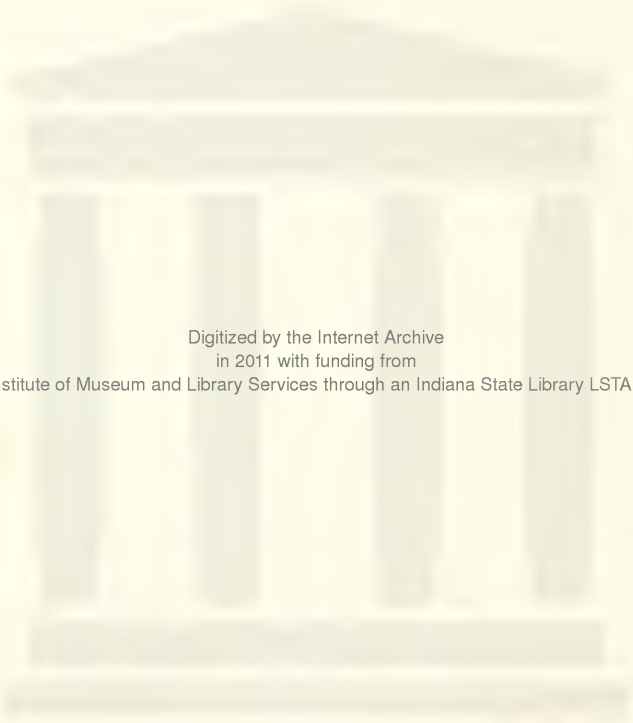

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ERRATA.

Page 91, line 12, read "their" for "the."
Page 93, line 12, read "they" for "those."
Page 98, line 1, read "a" for "the," before "placid."
Page 118, line 17, read "a" for "the."
Page 132, line 20, read "holy" for "whole."
Page 134, line 8 from bottom, read "its" for "his."
Page 159, line 18, read "renounces" for "announces."
Page 236, line 11, read "was" for "with," after "avowal."
Page 335, line 11, read "resort" for "sort."

UNION AND ANTI-SLAVERY SPEECHES.

THE UNION:

ITS NATURE AND ITS ASSAILANTS.*

FELLOW CITIZENS:—Honored by your invitation to address you on this venerated and cherished anniversary, I was led to comply, not less by a sense of dutiful obligation to our mother land, than by the impulse of true and reverent affection for those free institutions, which have been to the American people only a fountain of inestimable blessings, but which are now threatened with disaster, if not subversion and destruction. Clouds and darkness are above us; the fires of unholy and reckless passions are around us; the convulsed earth trembles beneath us; *and there is no* WASHINGTON!

At such a time, I rejoice—and who that pretends to patriotism will not rejoice?—that I can still salute you as *fellow*-citizens, not only of the noble State we inhabit,

* A speech delivered at a Union meeting held at Louisiana, Missouri, July 4, 1861.

but of those United States, to the Union of which Missouri owes her existence as an American State, and from the Union of which her people have received untold benefits. The bond of brotherhood between us is not yet severed; and here as brothers, beneath the glorious flag which symbolizes that Union, let us devoutly thank the God of our fathers for His goodness in the past, and humbly implore Him to keep us brothers yet, and to restore our beloved country to its former high estate.

In the outset I would announce the character in which I appear before you to-day. I am not here as a Northern or a Southern man, an Eastern or a Western man; nor as a "Democrat," which I am; nor as a "Republican," which I am not, nor ever was; but simply as an AMERICAN CITIZEN; more than content with the glory of that title, and ambitious only that it may not, now or ever, be sullied by any act or word of mine. With profound reverence I have, from my youth, followed the teachings of the great lights of our country, from WASHINGTON to the present day, and from them learned to love the Union of the American people above all other human institutions. It is, with me, the pre-eminent embodiment of all national wisdom, beneficence, and greatness. At the age of sixteen I was solemnly sworn to support the Constitution which sprung from that Union, and on other occasions since, that oath has been repeated, until, by its influence, combined with that of every year's added experience, fidelity to that Constitution has become an intimate portion of my very existence; never to be

destroyed, I hope, until that existence shall itself cease. Here and elsewhere, to you and to all, I declare that so far as any past or existing causes of dismemberment are concerned, I am, in life or in death, *for the* UNION.

A third generation has almost passed away, since on this day eighty-five years ago, the American people proclaimed themselves to be, as they had already in fact long been, ONE PEOPLE, and solemnly before the world united their destinies for all future time as A NATION—a new, an independent, a republican, and, as time has shown, a great nation. Three millions of people were born as a Nationality on that day, baptizing themselves in streams of their own best blood, shed for liberty and national existence: to-day, the same Nation, grown to more than ten times its original numbers, a thousandfold increased in physical power, and standing so lately without a superior in moral greatness among the nations of the earth, stains itself—O! shameful and horrid sight!—with the blood of its own people, shed in a strife provoked by passion and madness—a strife such as men have not seen before, and as the civilized world beholds with perplexity, amazement, and dread.

Under such circumstances, you will not expect that any other topics than those which so sadly engross every mind, should be now presented to you. *Our Country and its perils* is the absorbing theme; involving an examination of the nature of our institutions, and a discussion of the startling rebellion which has burst upon us within the past six months, threatening

their overthrow; and to that examination and discussion, in a frank and fearless spirit, but without exasperation or passion, I shall now address myself; earnestly invoking the supremacy of reason and of conscience, while we faithfully seek to know and understand THE RIGHT.

THE NATURE OF THE UNION.

THE UNION—offspring of kingly oppression; nursed in a cradle of blood and fire, yet, Hercules-like, strong enough in its infancy to strangle the serpent that would have crushed it; respected by every foreign nation, while yet the dew of its youth is upon it; admired and venerated by the oppressed of other lands; beloved by every patriotic American; and alas! contemned and hated by none in the whole world but its own children: *what is it?* We were most of us born in the Union; we have been reared under its benign influence; we have daily and hourly experienced its protection and its benefits; we enjoy, through it, the name and heritage of American citizens: and yet we are constrained in this day, when ungoverned malignity assails it on every side, and ruthless hands are raised for its destruction, to ask the strange and apparently superfluous question—*What is the* UNION? My friends, strange as it may appear, upon this question turns much of the bitter controversy of this dark epoch in our country's history. It lies in the foreground of every discussion of existing complications; and those complications have, to a great extent, grown out of the efforts of ambitious and unscrupulous men,

to close the popular mind against what the Union is, and to lead the people to regard it as what it is not, and thereby weaken their affection for it: a work better fitted for fiends than for men, but which fiends could not have done better than it has been done by men, who owe to the existence of the Union all the position and influence which they have sacrilegiously used for its destruction. As to them, we may leave them to time and to God; but with the errors they have disseminated we may never, without guilt, cease to contend; for wherever they are implanted, the warm, all-embracing love of country, which should fill every American heart, withers and dies.

In the States where secession has been accomplished, so far as ordinances of secession could accomplish it, a period of more than thirty years has been unintermittingly occupied by their leading men, in convincing their people that the Union sprang from the Constitution of the United States; that the Constitution is a mere league between separate and sovereign States, from which any State has a constitutional right to withdraw at any moment, for any cause she may deem sufficient; that allegiance is due from every man, primarily and by superior obligation, to the particular State of which he may happen to be a citizen, and only secondarily and by inferior obligation to the United States; and that the Government of the United States is a mere agent of the States, for particular purposes, with the privilege in any State to terminate the agency, as to itself, whenever it pleases.

It is out of my power to conceive of views in regard

to our system of government, more false in their nature and more deadly in their effects, than those; and my undoubting conviction is, that but for their steady inculcation on the minds of a portion of the American people, until an entire generation have been educated to believe in them as fundamental truths, we never should have seen the terrible events of the present time. Those doctrines have undermined the broad and apparently immovable foundations of the Union in every heart which has received them, and have accomplished, by insidious approaches and covert attacks, what open disloyalty, in the first instance, could never have effected. They have falsified and degraded the Union our fathers formed, and the Government they framed to strengthen and perpetuate it; and the foreseen and designed result is, that while, a few years ago, the whole American people held their National Government to be the best the world ever saw, and their Union the most sacred object of their attachment as Americans, millions of them are now engaged in a fierce and desperate effort to destroy both, even though in doing so they destroy the best hope and refuge of Freedom on the earth. Against such inexplicable and suicidal madness, I would appeal to you to-day. In doing so, I am, more than ever before, deeply convinced that a frequent and thoughtful recurrence to great fundamental doctrines and principles is the very life of a republic; and I shall not therefore rest upon the surface of passing events, but go back to the source of our grand fabric of Union and Government, and endeavor to renew our veneration and love for it, by ex-

hibiting the organic and vital principles, upon which alone I consider it was erected, and resting upon which I believe it would endure as long as humanity itself.

When was the Union formed? is a question of far-reaching import in determining what the Union is; so much so, that it is the subject of systematic and persistent falsification among those who aim to overthrow the Union. Their idol doctrine is, that the Union is a compact or league between sovereign States; and to sustain and spread the worship of that idol, they must refer to something written down, as compacts and leagues between States always are. Therefore, they fix upon the Constitution, and claim it to have been the origin of the Union. The South Carolina Convention, after passing an ordinance of secession, put forth an address to the people of the slaveholding States, the first sentence of which is a repetition of historical error on this point, in these words: "*It is now seventy-three years since the Union between the United States was made by the Constitution of the United States.*" To say that the members of that Convention did not know this statement to be untrue, is to affirm their ignorance of history, and of the very first line of the Constitution. The Constitution itself declares *why* it was established—assigns several reasons; the first of which is, "in order to form a *more perfect* Union:" words which are meaningless, if they do not affirm that a Union had before existed. And the letter of WASHINGTON, as President of the Convention, communicating to Congress the Constitution, stated that the

Convention had "*kept steadily in view that which appeared to them the greatest interest of every true American*—THE CONSOLIDATION OF OUR UNION:" a form of expression, equally with the other, declaring the pre-existence of the Union. It is, then, not only historically true, but explicitly recorded in the Constitution, that, so far from the Union springing from the Constitution, the Constitution was the offspring of the Union.

Searching backward for the beginning of the Union, we find that on the first day of March, 1781, nearly five years after the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, which had been formed by the Continental Congress, in 1777, were finally adopted by the delegates of the thirteen States, and became, during the few years of their existence, the bond, but not the origin, of Union; for we know from history that the Union existed before.

Again proceeding backward, we see that the Declaration of Independence began with this remarkable expression—"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for *one people* to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another;" and closed with the announcement "that these *United* Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." The phrase "one people" applied to the people of the "United Colonies," can leave no doubt of the view they entertained of their relation to each other. They considered themselves united, as one people, and they referred to a Union then already in being.

Looking still farther back in the record of events, we find that on the 5th of September, 1774, the Continental Congress, composed of delegates, from all the Colonies except Georgia—which was afterwards represented—was convened in Philadelphia.

Though as far back as 1637 the idea of a confederacy between some of the Colonies had been presented; though a convention was held in Boston, in 1643, to form a confederacy among the New England Colonies; though in 1754 a Congress of delegates from seven Colonies was convened at Albany, and unanimously resolved that a union of the Colonies was absolutely necessary for their preservation; and a similar Congress of delegates from nine Colonies was held in New York, in 1765; all indicating the tendency of the American mind to entrench the separate and scattered communities within a citadel of union: yet the Congress which convened in Philadelphia, in 1774, composed of delegates appointed by the popular or representative branch of the Colonial legislatures, or by conventions of the people of the Colonies, and styling themselves in their more formal acts "the delegates appointed by the *good people* of these Colonies," was the first general or national government which existed in America: and its very assembling was a declaration of Union, as its act, nearly two years afterward, was a Declaration of Independence. That Congress continued in existence, exercising, *de facto* and *de jure*, a sovereign authority, not as the delegated agents of the existing Colonial governments, but in virtue of original powers derived from the people, until it was superseded, in

1781, by the government established under the Articles of Confederation.

On the day, therefore, of the assembling of that Congress, the grand idea of American Union attained its full development, and expanded into action. That was the birthday of United America—the natal hour of our hallowed UNION. We celebrate the fourth of July for our Independence; but we take no note of the fifth of September for the Union, without which Independence would never have been achieved, or perhaps, meditated.

Having thus traced back the stream of Union to its source, let us observe for a moment the character of the people who then commingled their fate, and the circumstances with which they were surrounded. They were, in language, lineage, and institutions, essentially one people, as they then organized and consolidated themselves into one nation. Nearly the whole body of them were immigrants from Great Britain, or their descendants. They all acknowledged allegiance to the British crown, from which they had received their possessions and their chartered privileges; and all looked to the common law of England for the regulation and maintenance of their individual rights of persons and property. Trade between the Colonies was unrestrained. An inhabitant of one Colony might inherit from an ancestor or kinsman dying in another. They were not only bound together by community of origin, but by ten thousand ties of kindred and affinity, interlaced through every city, village, and settlement, from the Piscataqua in the frigid North, to the St. Mary's

in the flowery South. They were, with partial exceptions, of the same religious faith, and read in their common language the same Bible. The history of England was the history of their fathers and their ancestral institutions, and whatever of glory was there written was their common inheritance as Englishmen. They passed from Colony to Colony, and from point to point, as freemen, and were equally at home in every place, and equally protected everywhere by similar laws, framed and administered by themselves. There were among them no transmitted feuds or hereditary animosities, no strifes of rival leaders or wars of factions, no struggles for lawless supremacy of one Colony over another, no greed of conquest from each other: from all these curses, flowing from the unholy passions of men and of races, they enjoyed in their secluded home a happy exemption, through their essential unity. Subjected, as they were, to annoyances and perils from the savage foes around them, who long threatened their destruction, they united their forces in the common defense, and worked on bravely and sternly, in the common cause of securing for themselves and their posterity an abiding and peaceful home, under laws and institutions fit to nurture freemen. They were, in short, by every circumstance surrounding their homes, by their relations to each other, and by their own expressed assent, ONE PEOPLE; separated, it is true, into thirteen several municipal organizations, having in many respects diverse interests, but still not the less in mind, in heart, and in destiny, ONE.

Now, my friends, you and I are descendants of that

people; and I ask you if it is not true—if you do not in your hearts *know* it to be true—that when, in the incipient stages of the Revolution through which they were called to struggle, they magnanimously put aside all local differences and jealousies, and with one impulse combined their efforts, their fortunes, their lives, their all, against fearful odds, for the redress of their common grievances at the hands of the mother country, and for the Independence which they resolved to achieve, they evoked an already existing feeling of unity, and did, in the very essence of the term, form a full, unreserved, and practical union of THE PEOPLE, intended by themselves to be perpetual? Did they not, as perfectly as any people ever did, constitute and declare themselves a single and undivided NATION? Is there in all history an instance of such a union among a people who did not feel themselves to be, in every important particular, the same people? Why, even before the Union was a fact in history, the feeling in the North in reference to it was expressed by JAMES OTIS, one of the leading patriots of Massachusetts, in the Convention of 1765, in the hope that a Union would be formed, which should "*knit and work together into the very blood and bones of the original system every region as fast as settled;* and from distant South Carolina great-hearted CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN answered back—"*There ought to be no New England man, no New Yorker, known on the continent, but* ALL OF US AMERICANS." And in the very hour of the Union's birth-throes, PATRICK HENRY flashed upon the Congress of 1774 these lightning words: "ALL AMERICA IS THROWN INTO ONE MASS.

Where are your landmarks—your boundaries of Colonies? They are all thrown down. The distinctions between *Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more.* I AM NOT A VIRGINIAN, BUT AN AMERICAN." And when, after the Union was a recorded and mighty fact in history, the united people, through their Congress, organized the first form of government for the new-born nation, they solemnly wrote down in the Articles of their Confederation, "THE UNION SHALL BE PERPETUAL." If any further evidence is desired of the character of the Union, and of the intention that it should endure forever, recur again to that first line of our noble Constitution, declaring itself to have been established "in order to form a *more perfect Union*"—more perfect in its principles and its machinery, and more perfect in its adaptedness for perpetuity.

The question, *What is the Union?* is answered. It is no league of States, no compact between different peoples, no treaty between rival powers, but a voluntary, complete, and permanent coalescence of the several parts of one people, for their common defense, and to secure to themselves and their posterity the blessings of freedom and self-government. When I call to your earnest remembrance, that this Union was formed without any express or formal stipulation; that it rested in the outset solely upon the good faith of the people toward each other; that it was consummated before their Independence was declared, and in advance of any written form of General Government; that it was the freewill offering of the heart of the struggling

Nation upon the altar of liberty; and that it was upheld and consolidated by sacrifices such as only a people truly united in heart would make for each other; you will, I am sure, join with me in ascribing to it a sacredness that should forever protect it against the parricidal blow. State pride—poor, narrow, vain, and short-sighted State pride!—rejects this broad and glorious view of the nature of the Union; but it is the only one consistent with history, the only one that can stand the test of truth, the only one which makes our double system of governments consistent throughout, the only one which satisfies the patriotic heart, the only one which can secure a happy future to this nation, or give stability to American liberty.

You will not, I am sure, complain of the time I have devoted to the exhibition of the true character of the Union, as the leading topic of this day's discussion. The views I have expressed are, in my judgment, entwined, as nothing else is, with the very heart-strings of our whole system of free institutions. It is therefore vital that the true nature of the Union should be impressed broadly and deeply upon the American mind. Error on many other points may exist, and be widely diffused, without serious injury; but error on this point is fatal. It is poisoning the minds of multitudes in Missouri, as it has already poisoned those of millions in the insurgent States. I believe it to be undeniably true, that not one of those States would have put on the livery of treason, had not a large portion of their people first been seduced from their fidelity to the Union, by the heresies that lurk under the glittering

guise of STATE RIGHTS. As it is necessary in the prosecution of the argument that I should assail those heresies, let me say here that I am as firm a defender of the constitutional rights of the States as any other man, and would as resolutely resist by all constitutional means, any unauthorized infringement of them by the National Government. But I STAND BY THE CONSTITUTION; and in that position it is my duty equally to resist any attempt by any State to disturb the equilibrium of our system, by arrogating to itself powers and privileges not belonging to it. That the insurgent States assert doctrines, and claim rights and attributes, which are without a semblance of warrant, in or out of the Constitution, and are at deadly variance with the principles on which the Union was formed, and on which its existence depends, is as apparent to me as my own being; and I am not without hope of making it apparent to you.

STATE SOVEREIGNTY.

Revolting though it be to State pride, I hold that no greater or more destroying error has ever been promulgated in regard to our noble system of government, than the claim of *State Sovereignty*, as advanced in the States which have ordained secession from the Union; and yet upon that claim is based the unprecedented rebellion that convulses this land this day. Viewed in any light, there is neither consistency, logic, nor truth in it. To believe in it, history must be forgotten, the simplest axioms of government ignored, the acts and testimony of the fathers of the country

disregarded, and the plainest language distorted or contemned; all which I need not add, has been done in those States, as I will endeavor to prove.

Sovereignty is the highest power. For a State or nation to be sovereign, it must govern itself, without any dependence upon another power. It must have no superiors. If a State makes a part of another community or State, and is represented with foreign powers by that community or State of which it is a part, it is not sovereign. These are the simplest principles of constitutional and international law, affirmed by the greatest jurists, and recognized and acted upon by all civilized nations. Tested by them, no State in the American Union, except Texas, ever was sovereign, in any but a limited sense, and that, only within its own boundaries and over its own local affairs.

As to foreign nations, what act of sovereignty has any single State in the Union ever performed, from the Declaration of Independence, when the original thirteen announced themselves States, to the present time? Not one: nor could any of them ever have done such an act, without violating its obligations to the Nation of which it was a part. By the National Constitution, to which the people of every State irrevocably bound themselves, every attribute of external sovereignty is denied to the individual States, either in express terms, or by being vested in the United States. No State can make treaties with foreign powers, regulate commerce with other nations, declare war, or be represented by an ambassador, or other diplomatic agent, with any government on earth. For any purpose of sovereignty,

one of the United States is no more recognized abroad, than the city of St. Louis is recognized in the State of Oregon as a sovereign city.

Nor is it otherwise as between the States themselves. No State can, without the consent of Congress, enter into any agreement or compact with another State; or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

In every manner, therefore, the States are stripped of external sovereignty, which is, by the Constitution, vested in the Nation, represented by its National Government.

And not only so, but they are, in various respects, in a condition of dependence upon that government; as, for example, for a uniform coinage, for postal facilities, for an army and navy, for security against invasion and domestic violence, for the return of fugitives from service, and even for the guaranty of a republican form of government, if an attempt should be made to deprive them of it.

To speak of States as relatively sovereign, when thus situated as to foreign powers and as to each other, is a solecism seldom surpassed.

As to internal sovereignty, it is undoubtedly true that the States possess it in all matters of a local and domestic nature, *except where prohibited by the Constitution of the United States;* but beyond that they have not a single attribute of it. They may not coin money, lay imposts or duties on imports or exports, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, emit bills of credit, declare any thing but gold and silver a tender

in payment of debts, or pass a bill of attainder, an *ex post facto* law, or a law impairing the obligation of contracts: all of which are matters of domestic concern and cognizance.

Why can not any State do any of all these enumerated acts of sovereignty, as to other nations, as to other States of the Union, and as to their own people? Simply and only, because the Constitution of the United States, speaking the voice and embodying the power of the Nation—including in the Nation every State—forbids it, and in doing so, declares the supremacy of the Nation over the individual States, even to the extent of controlling their government of their own people.

I repeat, therefore, the States are, externally, not sovereign at all, and, are so internally, only as that Constitution does not declare otherwise. It matters not that their internal sovereignty is retained to a greater extent than it is surrendered or trammeled; the question is, Have they surrendered, or has the Nation taken from them *any part* of that sovereignty? If, in forming the Constitution, it took from them or restricted a single attribute of either branch of sovereignty, especially that purely domestic, it is their superior; if they voluntarily surrendered a single such attribute to it, or consented to a single such restriction, they themselves made it their superior. In either case they are not sovereign.

State pride rebels at the humiliation of the States, alleged to be involved in this doctrine: but there is no such humiliation in fact; for, have not the people of

every State, in entering the Union, *assented* to this relative position of the States and the Nation? What is a State but a body of people who are a part of the Nation? And has not the Nation ordained the Constitution, which fixes the *status* of the General and State governments? And have not the people of the States, with every opportunity of self-enlightenment, and without the slightest external pressure, by their most free and voluntary act in entering the Union, acknowledged the SOVEREIGNTY OF THE NATION over every matter which the people, in forming the National Constitution, deemed it necessary, for the good of the whole, to control by the aggregate power of the Nation? Is any other view consistent with the Union of THE PEOPLE, which our fathers consummated, and which has remained unbroken till this time? If we are one people, as I have shown we are, shall not that people ordain in their Constitution, what the whole and what each part shall be and do, and what the whole and each part shall not be and not do? If not, what becomes of the fundamental principle of popular government, that the majority shall govern?

The radical and pernicious fallacy of the State Rights doctrine is, in claiming that the people inhabiting a defined portion of the National domain, on emerging from their condition of dependence on the National Government, and entering the Union as a State, instead of remaining, as they were, a part of the Nation, become, through their State organization, segregated from it, and exalted by the act of Congress admitting them as a State, to a position of sovereignty higher

than that of the Nation. From this error flows, as a necessary consequence, the equally pernicious fallacy, that the constitutional supremacy of the National Government is something extraneous and antagonistic, imposed upon the States without their consent; when, in truth, it is the power which the people of the States have themselves created, and is therefore just as much their creature as the governments of their States. They established both, and both, in their respective spheres, are complete and predominant. While they remain in their several positions, there can be no collision between them. The only conflicts that have ever arisen between National and State authority, have resulted from claiming unconstitutional powers and rights for the States, not from aggressions upon the States by the General Government. The claim of State sovereignty has provoked them all, as it is at the bottom of the fearful strife now agitating the country; and permanent peace can not be expected until that claim, as advanced in the South, is abandoned.

But while this claim of State sovereignty must be acknowledged by all candid men to be inconsistent with and subversive of the National Constitution, and at war with the first principles of the Union, it is boldly asserted that, aback of all constitutions, and above all written forms of government, there is a *reserved* power of State sovereignty, paramount to that of the Nation, in virtue of which any State may at any time cast off its obligations to the Union, and assume a separate and independent attitude. No higher sovereignty than this could be claimed; for it asserts the right of a single

State, a part of the Nation—whether it be Florida with her 82,000 white inhabitants, or New York with her 3,800,000—to abrogate, as to itself, "the supreme law of the land," ordained by the whole nation. One would think that merely to state such a proposition would be to condemn it utterly and forever; but from just that absurdity springs the gigantic treason of this day. In the face of the fact that this is pre-eminently a country of *written* constitutions, wherein the people themselves—not some reigning potentate—grant powers of government, and define the boundaries of authority and right; in spite of the acknowledged fact, that this claim is not affirmed by any word in the National Constitution, or in the Constitution of any State; and in disregard of the plainest common sense, teaching us that a government framed with a reserved right in any part of its people to renounce it at pleasure, would merit and receive the contempt of the world for its incongruity and imbecility; this dogma of a reserved State sovereignty superior to that of the Nation, is flaunted abroad with as much assurance as if its apostles really believed it themselves, and as greedily swallowed by their followers as if it were a new gospel of freedom.

JEFFERSON DAVIS' MESSAGE.

True, the State Rights leaders profess to appeal to the Constitution itself in support of their views; but with such a conscious hopelessness of aid from that quarter, that they are driven to actual falsification of

its terms, plain as they are, and open as they be to the perusal of every reading man. The latest and most authoritative, and therefore most flagrant, of all the efforts to blind and mislead the people on this subject, is that of JEFFERSON DAVIS, in his message of April 29, 1861, to the Congress of the insurgent States; wherein he attempts a vindication of this State Rights doctrine, ostensibly from the words of the Constitution, but, in fact, with a strange and most daring perversion and suppression of them; to which let us briefly direct attention.

Mr. DAVIS, referring to the occasion of convening the Congress, characterizes it as "indeed an extraordinary one," and adds—"It justifies me in a brief review of the relations heretofore existing between us and the States which now unite in warfare against us, and in a succinct statement of the events which have resulted in this warfare; *to the end that mankind may pass intelligent and impartial judgment on its motives and objects.*"

When the leader of a great rebellion thus appeals to the public opinion of mankind, all men have a right to require that he shall, above all things, exhibit a supreme regard for truth in his statement of facts. His deductions from premises truly stated may be honestly erroneous; but when, in regard to facts, he is guilty of either *suppressio veri* or *suggestio falsi*, he forfeits the respect of the people to whom he appeals. That such is Mr. DAVIS' position, seems to me beyond dispute.

His message opens with an argument in support of

the fundamental heresy, which strips the Constitution of the United States of its character of government, and degrades it into a mere compact between sovereign States, creating an agency to manage certain affairs for them as States, and therefore a mere creature, and they its creators. I will not stop to dwell upon the simple language with which the Constitution, in its first line, refutes this dogma, by declaring itself to have been formed by "the PEOPLE of the United States;" nor to array before you the repeated judicial decisions, including those of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Court of Appeals of South Carolina, expressly affirming that the United States are organized by their Constitution into a *Government*, and are, in that respect greatly in advance of the United States under the Confederation; nor to present the almost infinite testimony of our Revolutionary fathers, who framed both systems, that the Constitution superseded the Confederation, because the latter was, in practical effect, no government, and without an effective government the nation could not be held together; but will direct your minds to the particular point in which Mr. DAVIS ventures to defend his favorite theory, at the sacrifice of truth in the matter of fact.

Alluding to the Confederation, he remarks:

"In order to guard against any misconstruction of their compact, the several States made explicit declaration, in a distinct article, that 'each State retained its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this

Confederation *expressly delegated* to the United States in Congress assembled.'"

Proceeding then to refer to the adoption of the Constitution in lieu of the Confederation, and to "the earnest desire evinced to impress on the Constitution its true character—that of a compact between independent States," he presents the following paragraph:

"The Constitution of 1787 having, however, omitted the clause already recited from the Articles of Confederation, which provided in explicit terms that each State *retained* its sovereignty and independence, some alarm was felt in the States when invited to ratify the Constitution, lest this omission should be construed into an abandonment of their cherished principle, and they refused to be satisfied until amendments were added to the Constitution, *placing beyond any pretense of doubt* the reservation by the States of all their sovereign rights and power not *expressly* delegated to the United States by the Constitution."

Now, my friends, you can judge to what straits Mr. Davis was driven to sustain himself before the world, when you note the fact that though he quoted, in terms, the "distinct article" of the Confederation to which he referred, he entirely omitted to quote, in terms, the amendment to the Constitution upon which he relied, as "*placing beyond any pretense of doubt* the reservation by the States of all their rights and powers, not *expressly* delegated to the United States by the Constitution." When he stood in the world's forum, and appealed to the world as a judge, why suppress a material fact in the case? Why hold out to

view one clause and hide the other, when he asks mankind to pass an "intelligent and impartial judgment?" Could he not trust them with the *whole* truth? If not, why keep back any? Such is not the act of a man conscious of rectitude and a righteous cause. No: he knew that the constitutional amendment to which he referred, without quoting it, did not, like the Articles of Confederation, declare "the reservation by the States of all their sovereign rights and powers, not expressly delegated to the United States by the Constitution;" and it therefore suited not his purpose to set it side by side with the "distinct article" of the Confederation which he had recited. It would have been too apparent to all reflecting men, that the two clauses were widely different in terms and effect; as we can now see by placing them together.

The second Article of the Confederation is in these words:

"Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled."

The tenth amendment of the Constitution is in these words:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Now note, that while the former declares that each State retains its sovereignty and independence, the latter does not. The omission to preserve so important a feature, when, according to Mr. Davis, the

constitutional amendment was adopted under a feeling of "alarm" in the States, "lest this omission should be construed into an abandonment of their cherished principle," is a fact of clear and great force. Why did they not reiterate the former declaration? Manifestly because the idea of State sovereignty and independence, except in a very limited internal sense, had been exploded by the acknowledged failure of the Confederation; and the people, convinced that it was inconsistent with the sovereignty of the Nation, repudiated it in the formation of the Constitution. Well might they ask; why declare a reservation of the sovereignty and independence of the States, when the people of those very States had deliberately disrobed them of almost every badge of sovereignty, and declared their dependence, in most essential points, on the Government of the Nation? The letter of WASHINGTON, before referred to, communicating the Constitution to the Congress of the Confederation, uses language that is conclusive as to the view then entertained by the Convention of the actual surrender of State sovereignty. involved in the adoption of that instrument. "*It is obviously impracticable* (says the letter) *in the Federal Government of these States, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals, entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest.*" With the true character and effect of the Constitution thus distinctly announced, the people of every State ratified and established it, and in so doing, proclaimed the will of the Nation, that the States should

no longer claim to be sovereign and independent, as they had claimed to be under the Confederation.

Equally forcible is the omission of the word "expressly" from the constitutional amendment above cited. Under the Confederation, every power, jurisdiction, and right, not *expressly* delegated to the United States, was retained by the States. Unless it could be found written down in plain terms in the Articles of Confederation, that any given power might be exercised by the Federal Government, it could not be exercised. Hence the Confederation was feeble, from its very stringency. The following language addressed to the public, in 1786, by one of the leading writers of that day, strikingly exhibits the results of the restricted terms of the Confederation.

"By this political compact the United States in Congress have exclusive power for the following purposes, without being able to execute one of them. They may make and conclude treaties; but can only recommend the observance of them. They may appoint ambassadors; but cannot defray even the expenses of their tables. They may borrow money in their own name on the faith of the Union; but cannot pay a dollar. They may coin money; but they cannot purchase an ounce of bullion. They may make war, and determine what number of troops are necessary; but cannot raise a single soldier. *In short, they may declare everything, but do nothing.*"

Why was the Confederation so powerless? Mainly because the Congress could do nothing but what was *expressly* authorized. Legitimate inference of a power

not named, from those expressly given, was not allowed. To every attempt to deduce by necessity an inferred power, the answer was—"*Is it so nominated in the bond?*" Hence, when, with more enlightened views, the people essayed to create a real and efficient government instead of a rickety and powerless league, their Constitution, after enumerating certain defined powers of Congress, added, that that body should have power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or officer thereof."

Having thus relieved the Government from the trammels imposed on the Confederation by the use of the word "*expressly*," it is plain why, in adopting the tenth amendment, they omitted that word.

What, then, becomes of Mr. DAVIS' statement, that the States "refused to be satisfied until amendments were added to the Constitution, placing beyond any pretense of doubt the reservation by the States of all their sovereign rights and powers, not *expressly* delegated to the United States by the Constitution?" It takes its place in the long catalogue of falsifications and frauds, by which he and his coadjutors have excited, and expect to keep alive, the rebellion they are leading. The people whom he thus deceives and betrays may never see the falsehood; but the cause which rests upon such a foundation carries its own death within it, and will bring its supporters to sorrow, dismay, and ruin.

But had the second Article of the Confederation

been incorporated in terms into the Constitution, would it support the right claimed by the South to secede from the Union at pleasure? Can it be for a moment supposed possible, that the people, in forming a government, reserved to each of the States a right to throw off that government at its will? When the people of the United States declared in the Constitution, that it was ordained and established "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our POSTERITY," did they mean that a part of the people should have a constitutional right, the next year, or in ten, twenty, fifty, or any number of years thereafter, to scatter those blessings to the winds, by overthrowing the Constitution which secured them, and destroying the Union which the Constitution was designed to perpetuate? Were our fathers fools, that they engaged in such child's play as that? No: when they strove with as elevated a magnanimity as history exhibits, to secure those blessings to their posterity, they believed that an endless succession of generations would gather the precious fruits of their patriotic labors, and hoped that the sun of the Constitution would set, only when that of the firmament should be extinguished in the gloom of an endless night.

NO STATE, EXCEPT TEXAS, EVER WAS SOVEREIGN.

But if the States are sovereign, in the sense claimed in the insurgent States, when did they become so? Recurring to the principle previously enunciated, that no State is sovereign that has superiors, I affirm it to be historically true that no State in this country, except

Texas, ever has been sovereign, save in a limited sense over its domestic affairs; and to this point I will direct your minds in a series of brief propositions, which are conclusive.

1. When the people of the Colonies appointed the delegates who assembled as a Congress on the 5th of September, 1774, the Colonies were mere dependencies of the British crown, and, therefore, were not sovereign.

2. That Congress was, *de jure* and *de facto*, a government over all the Colonies, from the date of its assembling until the Colonies, on the 4th of July, 1776, assumed the attitude of States, and thenceforward it was a government over the States; and Colonies and States were alike subject to its authority, and therefore, not sovereign. This continued until the 1st of March, 1781, when the Articles of Confederation were finally ratified by all the States.

3. From the 1st of March, 1781, to the 4th of March, 1789, when the first Congress under the Constitution assembled, the States were subject to the government of the Confederation, so far as its weak capacities justified the name of a government. At any rate the Confederate Congress exercised all the powers of general sovereignty which were exercised at all, and the States, as such, were merged, as to all the rest of the world, in the United States. The Confederation, too, as afterwards the Constitution, explicitly restricted the domestic sovereignty of the States. The sovereignty which the States declared in the Articles of Confederation that they retained, was, therefore, at most, only a limited

one over their internal affairs, and did not affect their relations to the Union, or to the world.

4. From the 4th of March, 1789, to the present day the government under the Constitution has been in existence; under which I have shown that the States have only such powers of sovereignty, as, in the words of the Constitution, are not "*prohibited by it to the States.*"

Here, then, from the 5th of September, 1774, to the present hour, has been a clear and steady assertion of the sovereign power of the NATION, paramount to the powers of Colonies and States. During all that period of time, Colonies and States have all acknowledged the highest and most important attributes of sovereignty to reside in the government established by the Nation, and therefore yielded to the Nation superiority over the individual States.

The only apparent exception to this, among the original thirteen States, is in the case of North Carolina, by which the Constitution was not adopted until more than eight months after the government under the Constitution went into operation; and of Rhode Island, by which its adoption was postponed more than fourteen months after that event. Still, those States, during the time they deliberated as to their consent to the new form of government, remained essentially a part of the Nation, performing no sovereign function, except over their internal affairs, and, by the act of deliberation, expressing their continued adhesion to the Union. They, therefore, constitute no real exception.

The proposition that no State, except Texas, ever

was sovereign, is most emphatically true of twenty out of the twenty-one new States, which have been added to the original thirteen. Every one of them was composed of people previously subject to the National Government;—people who were unable to take position as States without the consent of that Government; who were admitted into the Union only in virtue of an act of Congress; and who, when admitted as States, voluntarily took the subordinate position assigned them by the National Constitution, and which the original States had previously, of their own volition, taken.

THE SOUTH ITSELF DOES NOT BELIEVE IN A RESERVED SOVEREIGN RIGHT OF SECESSION.

But so far as this doctrine of State sovereignty is used to sustain the right of secession, it is to my mind apparent that its supporters in the South do not themselves believe in it. If there is a reserved right of secession, paramount to the Constitution, it must have existed when the Union was formed; for it has not been acquired or granted since. If it did exist then, the Union was entered into with a tacit understanding that there was such a right. If entered into with such an understanding, then a State seceding would be guilty of no legal wrong toward the other States; it would do only what it had a right to do. So doing, it would have no reason to regard itself as an enemy to the remaining States, or the National Government as an enemy to it; and would have just cause of complaint against either, for taking a hostile attitude to it for

seceding. But what do we find in the seceded States? Instantly upon passing their ordinances of secession, and in some instances in advance of it, they, by their acts, proclaim themselves the enemies of the United States, in every way which could signalize them as such. They proceed to organize a Confederate Government, to raise armies, to provide for their support, to create a navy, and to seize the armories, forts, navy yards, docks, custom-houses, mints, money, and all other property of the United States within their reach; they overpower and capture the United States troops, wherever they find them in detached bodies too small for resistance, and hold them as prisoners of war; they fire upon a vessel under the National flag, and in the government service; they beleaguer, and finally bombard and reduce, a National fort, held by a brave half-starved garrison, one-hundredth part as strong as the assailing host: and all for what reason? They were not assailed by the Government on account of their secession. No troops were marched against them, no navy closed their ports, no mails were stopped within their borders; they were, for months after their secession, as they asked to be, "*let alone;*"—let alone to commit every form of aggression upon the Nation, without retaliation or resistance: why did they take the attitude of enemies? If, in seceding, they exercised only a reserved right, they did a lawful act, and had no occasion to wage war upon the Government they had renounced; nor had the Government occasion, for the act of secession, to attack them. Why, then, did they wage the war? Without the least doubt, because

they knew that their claim of a reserved right in a State to dissolve the connection with the Union at its will, was a flimsy and false pretense, which they themselves had not the slightest faith in; and because, veil it however they might from their people, under the guise of State sovereignty, the leaders knew that secession was REBELLION, and that, sooner or later, rebellion must be met by force. In their own consciousness, therefore, as exhibited in their acts, the pretext of a constitutional right of secession is a fallacy and a falsehood. As such the on-looking world regards it, and the intelligence of mankind scouts and condemns it.

NATIONAL AND STATE ALLEGIANCE.

Having shown that the Nation, as the aggregate of the united people—not the States as corporate bodies leagued together—is the source of National sovereignty, and that the organ of that sovereignty is the government established by the Nation, through a Constitution which declares itself, and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, to be the supreme law of the land; it is proper that we should devote a portion of our time to the consideration of that great, but almost forgotten, principle, which pervades all the relations between government and citizen, and is condensed in the single, but most comprehensive, word—ALLEGIANCE.

Every individual of every nation, barbarian and civilized, is bound by allegiance to the supreme authority which presides over that nation, whether it be

King, Emperor, Grand Duke, Sultan, Tycoon, Chief, or Constitutional Republican Government. Society without allegiance is anarchy; government without allegiance is a mockery; people without allegiance are a mob. It is the principle which gives all force to law, for it is the principle of obedience to law. It is impossible to conceive of a supreme government which does not claim the allegiance of its subjects; or of a people acknowledging a supreme government to which they do not yield allegiance. It is not obedience only, but something above and beyond that; and has been rightly defined to be the tie, or *ligamen*, which binds the citizen to his government. *The breach of this tie is* TREASON—the highest crime known to the laws of man, and which falls under the special condemnation of the word of God; but which, in this day, Americans, and, I grieve to say, those who claim to be Christians, rush into, as if it were a merit and a glory to destroy the best government that ever wielded the destinies of a people.

The events of this year of wrath have disclosed astounding facts in regard to the allegiance of the American people to their National Government. Over an entire section of the Union they seem, almost in a mass, to have crushed out of their hearts all sense of allegiance; while with a minority there, it has been so weakened that they are open to treasonable impressions and influences, which unsettle their loyalty and vitiate their patriotism; and in that whole region only a fragment remain, to resist openly the torrent of disallegiance, and hold fast to the Constitution and the Union.

This amazing and inconceivable change in the feelings of so large a portion of the Nation, toward a government which, during its whole existence, has been controlled almost entirely by that very people, and which has never oppressed or injured them in any of their interests, but has always, and especially for the last thirty years, shaped its policy in conformity with their demands, is, to him who looks only at the surface of things, the great enigma of history; and to such it must ever remain an enigma. He, however, who looks below the surface, has no difficulty in seeing that the doctrine of primary State allegiance, which was promulgated by South Carolina, in 1832, and, though exploded by her own Court of Appeals, in 1834, has since been diligently inculcated through the entire South, and was put forth by the Governor of this State, in his recent treasonable proclamation of war against the United States, lies at the bottom, like a subterranean fire, burning out the popular heart, and with earthquake throes upheaving the foundations of our National institutions. It is no more true that States exist, than that, but for this shallow heresy, they would not now have been arrayed against the National Government. It appeals to home attachments, to State pride, to self-interest, to local jealousy, to sectional animosity, to every passion and feeling hostile to a broad and patriotic nationality; and, like a mighty lens, focalizes the whole upon a single petty point, burning to ashes the tie of paramount allegiance to the Government of the Nation, loosing the warring elements, and bringing in chaos again. With him who

takes this doctrine to his soul, true, generous, self-sacrificing love of country is as impossible as for one born blind to describe a rainbow; his State is his country, and his American citizenship is a bauble compared with his citizenship there. Point him to the flag of his country, and he sees only the one star which typifies his State; every other is, to that, rayless and cold. Talk to him of the Nation, and he replies "*South Carolina!*" Speak of national prosperity and happiness, and he responds, "*the Old Dominion!*" Refer to the honor of the Nation, and he shouts "*Mississippi!*" "*Arkansas!*" "*Texas!*" Lead his mind where you will, like a cat he always returns to the particular spot he inhabits, and which he calls his State! Ever regarding that, he raises not his head to behold the glorious COUNTRY, which claims his first devotion as an American, his highest love as a freeman.

To hold that allegiance is due from a citizen to one of the United States, otherwise than as the term imports mere obedience to its rightful authority while he resides there, is a gross and incomprehensible perversion of the nature and obligation of citizenship. Allegiance, in its proper sense, can be exacted only by the supreme power, which in this land, is the government created by the Constitution of the United States. To that government every American citizen is bound, wherever he may be, on land or at sea, at home or abroad, in the States, or in the Territories beyond the jurisdiction of any State. But the moment an individual leaves the soil of a State, with the intention of residing permanently elsewhere, his citizenship there

is lost. There is no limit, except his own volition, to his changes of State citizenship. But wherever he goes, he is still a citizen of the United States, and a thousand changes of domicil can not make him otherwise: through them all he owes unbroken and unqualified allegiance to the United States.

This allegiance may not be put on and off, to suit the convenience or whims of the individual, as he may assume or cast off State citizenship. Once due it is always, unless the National Government consent to its renunciation. The native-born citizen owes it, from the cradle to the grave; the naturalized foreigner from the moment he acquires citizenship till his death. No such obligation exists toward a State. A State's power over any citizen begins only with his entrance upon her territory, and ends with his departure from it. Will it be said that he who was once a citizen of Florida, but removed thence to Missouri, where he has since resided, may now be called back by Florida to fight her battles, because of his former citizenship there? No sane man will hold such a doctrine; and yet if Florida may not do that, there is no allegiance to a State, except in the sense of obedience to its laws and authorities while in it. But the United States have an undoubted and indestructible right to call forth their citizens from every spot of their domain, to defend and and uphold in battle the honor and power of the nation; for no citizen can find a place where the tie of allegiance does not bind him to the Constitution and flag of his country.

The citizen owes allegiance in return for protection

by his government, and that protection is his lawful right, wherever in the world he may be. It was the certainty and swiftness of Rome's vindication of the rights of her citizens, that gave such power everywhere to the simple words "*I am a Roman citizen*;" and this hour, among all civilized nations, to be known as an *American* citizen, is a passport and a protection. Why? Because the United States are known throughout the world, as able and ready to protect their citizens. But on another continent than this, what would it avail to be known as a citizen of any State of the Union? Who, in a foreign land, would, in extremity, proclaim himself a citizen of one of the States, when his State has no power to protect him or to avenge his wrongs, except through the Government of the Union? And yet men prate of a first allegiance due to their State!

But to what power does the man of foreign birth assume allegiance when he becomes a citizen? and was is the character of this citizenship? Does he by his naturalization become a citizen of any particular State? No; he attains the dignity of American citizenship. Does he swear allegiance to any State? No; he swears to support the Constitution of the United States. He is not by that step identified with a part, but with the whole, of the Nation, and binds himself to the government which represents the Nation. And yet that man is told that he owes primary and paramount allegiance to the State he lives in, the Constitution of which he never promised to support, and the obligation of which upon him ceases the moment he steps outside her border!

In sober verity, there is in this whole dogma of State allegiance an absurdity so glaring, a perversion of the true principles of constitutional law so flagrant, a delusion so pitiful and yet so monstrous, that it is a world's wonder that men of sense could anywhere be found to inculcate or even countenance a doctrine, that any school-boy might refute, and which a jurist or a statesman would regard as worthy only of ridicule and contempt.

ALLEGIANCE TO KING COTTON.

But my friends, the truth is, that this dogma is but a cloak for another kind of allegiance, which has usurped the place of that due to the Constitutional Government of the Union. The people of the insurgent States have, in great part, renounced allegiance to that government, *and transferred it to their cotton bales and the system of labor that produces them.* With them COTTON IS KING, and they bow down to their king with a reverence denied to their country! A dream of the dominion of cotton over three mighty nations—the American, the French and the British—has filled their imaginations, until it has assumed to them the form of a reality. But for this delusion, never was there a more loyal people than they; with it, never was there a people more miserable than they are destined to be, persisting in their unnatural rebellion. *No instance can be found, of great nations being permanently held tributary to any one spot of this earth, for a production of the soil indispensable to their comfort and civilization, when only labor was needed to produce it in unlimited*

quantities in other lands; unmindful of this, that people plunge into rebellion to clutch the scepter of commercial power, and, as they clutch, it eludes their grasp, and passes away forever! The dominion they might have wielded, as a part of the United States, for many years to come, was broken in the hour they attempted to separate themselves from their country. They have disturbed the commercial equilibrium of great nations; and to avoid a recurrence of such disturbance hereafter, those nations are already searching the earth for new regions where cotton may be grown, and for the labor to cultivate it. *Both will be found;* and when found, the overthrow of the kingdom of cotton in this republic, and of the system of labor on which that kingdom rests, is but a question of time; and with that overthrow, if not before, reason will resume its sway, patriotism its power, and allegiance to the Constitution its supremacy.

RIGHT OF REVOLUTION.

If it be asked, May not a people throw off their allegiance, and make for themselves a new government? the answer is, of course, they may. The right of revolution is inherent in every people; but it is *ultima ratio*—the last resort, and is not a remedy which any people may, without awful crime, needlessly appeal to. But so perverted are the judgments of many in the present crisis, and so deeply have their minds, insensibly to themselves, become imbued with destructive error, that thousands wildly claim the right of any portion of a nation to throw off and overturn their government at their mere pleasure, for any cause

or no cause, regardless of consequences, and in defiance of every principle which justifies or upholds any form of human authority. It were needless to say that such a doctrine tears up by the roots all social order, and prostrates like a whirlwind every institution of government. To see its legitimate and inevitable fruits, you have only to look at Mexico, were forty years of revolutions have wrought desolations, which another forty years of peace and order might not repair. If the American people are not to take a place alongside of that poor victim of periodical revolt, let them understand the principles upon which alone any people may make themselves the executioners of their own government. If it be not in vain to hold up the words and example of our Revolutionary fathers, let us learn from them when to take the sword; lest, taking it rashly and without cause, we perish by the sword.

Read their Declaration of Independence, and ponder these words:

"Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, *evinces a design to reduce them under* ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new guards for their future security. *Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies, and such*

is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ABSOLUTE TYRANNY OVER THESE STATES. To prove this let facts be submitted to a candid world."

Now, my friends, upon the principles of that Declaration, and in such an exigency as it portrays, I would be a revolutionist: he who would resort to revolution on any other principles is an anarchist, a social Ishmaelite, whose hand is against every man; and every man's hand ought to be against him. And yet, one of the latent elements of mischief at the present time in this State, is the wide-spread assumption among intelligent men, of this right of forcible revolution, whenever the impulse, well or ill-directed, may seize any portion of the people.

Against a doctrine so destructive of every form of sound and stable government, I appeal to the wisdom, the conscience, and the hopes of the people. I protest against it, as the unpardonable sin against human liberty, throwing wide open the flood-gates of beastly license, and sweeping away in indiscrimate destruction all that we have ever loved or valued, and all that could make us, or our children after us, good or great, or even decent in the eyes of mankind.

As, in a republic, the source of power is the People, the very first principle of every such government is, that PUBLIC OPINION, not revolutionary violence, shall be invoked to rectify errors and redress

grievances. Our whole system rests upon the popular will, and if that be perverted, the remedy is in restoring it to rectitude, *not in destroying the system.* There is no evil connected with the existence of the Union, (if, indeed, there are any,) for which the National Constitution, laws, and tribunals do not afford adequate, certain, and efficient, if not speedy remedy. Every State became a part of the Union under a solemn pledge—not, to be sure, written down, but none the less binding because implied—to look to that Constitution and those laws and tribunals for the redress of every wrong and the support of every right. Conflicts of interest and opinion were inevitable; but every part of the Nation agreed that the will of the majority, constitutionally expressed, should govern; for an appeal to the people was ever open, and the majority of to-day might—as it has done a thousand times—dwindle into a minority to-morrow. The assertion, therefore, of a right of armed revolution against the decision of the majority, is a violation so fearful of the vital principle of a republic, and a blow so deadly at the peace of the nation, the integrity of the Constitution, and the perpetuity of popular government, as almost to crush the heart of the patriot under an infinite weight of dismay and despair.

When, therefore, within fifteen days after the vote of the Electoral Colleges was cast for Mr. LINCOLN, and two months and a half before he could be inaugurated, and while he was yet as powerless as a child for harm, even though he had been as full of evil intent as Satan himself, the State of South Carolina raised the war-

cry of rebellion, and announced her rejection of the authority of the Constitution and her separation from the Union, an offense was registered in Heaven's chancery, before which all preceding outbreaks of popular wickedness fall into immeasurable insignificance. And when, from time to time, ten other States followed her lead, and raised the standard of revolt against a government so mild, so paternal, so beneficent, that their people hardly knew there was such a government, except by its blessings, the world could only gaze in blank amazement at a sacrilege, which threatened to extinguish the great beacon light of human freedom forever, and to consign America to boundless and hopeless ruin.

And the world asks—What justification is pleaded for this incredible outrage against the Nation, and, indeed, against the human race? And the world will have the question answered. It is in vain to reply that it is not worth while to inquire who is in the wrong:—it *is* worth while. When a son kills his father, all men inquire the cause; and they inquire on until they know it; for every individual is concerned to understand the motive for such a deed. And so, when a stupendous rebellion arrays itself against a government which the world knows to be the least exacting and the least burdensome of all the governments existing on the earth, mankind demands, WHY? and mankind *will* be answered. Let us do our part toward giving the reply.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA DECLARATION OF CAUSES FOR SECESSION, REVIEWED.

When the South Carolina Convention passed their Ordinance of Secession, they put forth "A DECLARATION OF CAUSES WHICH INDUCED THE SECESSION;"—the only instance of the kind, within my knowledge, in the eleven seceded States. And as the other States followed the lead of South Carolina, it is fair to assume that the "causes" which impelled her impelled them, and that they are willing to be judged by the sufficiency of her "Declaration." Let us, then, examine it.

After a feeble and futile defense of the right of secession, they present the "*Personal Liberty laws*" of some of the Northern States as a justification; concerning which they say:

"We assert that fourteen of the States have deliberately refused for years past to fulfill their constitutional obligations, and we refer to their own statutes for the proof. * * * The States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, have enacted laws, which either nullify the acts of Congress, or render useless any attempt to execute them. In many of these States the fugitive is discharged from the service or labor claimed, and in none of them has the State Government complied with the stipulation made in the Constitution. The State of New Jersey at an early day, passed a law in conformity with her consti-

tutional obligations; but the current of anti-slavery feeling has led her more recently to enact laws which render inoperative the remedies provided by her own laws and by the laws of Congress."

Now, were this statement true in every particular, relating as it does, only to the action of particular *States*, it would not constitute the shadow of a justification for rebellion against the *General Government.*

In 1842 the Supreme Court of the United States decided that the power of legislation in relation to the recapture of fugitive slaves, is by the Constitution, vested *exclusively in Congress.* In 1850, Congress enacted a Fugitive Slave Act, prepared by Southern Senators and Representatives, so stringent in its provisions that Mr. RHETT, of South Carolina, one of the arch-instigators of treason there, expressed doubts of its constitutionality; and that Act is still in force. So far, then, as there is constitutional requirement to provide for legislation for such recapture, it was fulfilled to the letter, by the only body having authority to act in the premises, and in the very terms prescribed by the South itself. When, therefore, they allege that "in none of them [the States named] has the *State* Government complied with the stipulation made in the Constitution," they attribute to the States an authority and obligation which the Supreme Court has declared does not exist; and they proclaim a separation from those States, because they have not done what that tribunal holds they have no constitutional right to do.

But that statement is false in a material allegation of fact—even more so than the message of JEFFERSON

DAVIS, to which I have previously referred. Of all the fourteen States named, as having "enacted laws which either nullify the acts of Congress, or render useless any attempt to execute them," it is absolutely true that only FOUR—*Vermont, Massachusetts, Michigan, and Wisconsin*—had any such laws on their statute books! But had such been enacted by every non-slaveholding State, they were unconstitutional and void, and the Constitution provides ample means to have them declared so; and the laws of the United States give full redress against all persons who should undertake to act under them. To that Constitution and to those laws the South was bound by the most sacred obligations to appeal, and not to the sword.

The next justification advanced is in the following words:

"We affirm that these ends for which this Government was instituted, have been defeated, and the Government itself has been destructive of them by the action of the non-slaveholding States. Those States [mark the words!] *those* STATES, have assumed the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions; and have denied the rights of property established in fifteen of the States, and recognized by the Constitution; they have denounced as sinful the institution of Slavery; they have permitted the open establishment among them of societies, whose avowed object is to disturb the peace and to eloin the property of the citizens of other States. They have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes; and those who remained have been incited

by emissaries, books, and pictures to servile insurrection."

To say nothing of the puerile absurdity of declaring that the *General Government* "has been destructive" of the ends referred to, by the action of the non-slaveholding *States*," let us look at the charges preferred here against those States. Without the least hesitation, it must be declared that the whole list is without foundation. That *individuals* in the Northern States have done the acts complained of, is certainly true; but that any of those *States* has lent itself to such ignoble work, is no more true, than that South Carolina was faithless to the cause of liberty in the Revolution, because within her borders more Tories were found—and long held their ground, too—than in almost all the other States together. And it is impossible that the South Carolina Convention did not know their charge was unfounded, unless they were wretchedly ignorant. Let an impartial world judge what respect is due to the "Declaration" of an assembly, which thus slanderously imputes to an entire body of States the sins of individuals, and for the crimes of a proportionately meagre troop of fanatics, arraigns twenty millions of people at the bar of mankind.

The third and last justification presented is in the following paragraphs:

"For twenty-five years this agitation has been steadily increasing, until it has now secured to its aid the common Government. Observing the *forms* of the Constitution, a sectional party has found within that article establishing the Executive Department, the

means of subverting the Constitution itself. A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States, whose opinions and purposes are hostile to Slavery. He is to be intrusted with the administration of the common Government, because he has declared that that 'Government can not endure permanently half slave and half free;' and that the public mind must rest in the belief that Slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction.

"On the 4th of March next, this party will take possession of the Government. It has announced that the South shall be excluded from the common territory, that the judicial tribunal shall be made sectional, and that a war must be waged against Slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States.

"The guaranties of the Constitution will then no longer exist; the equal rights of the States will then be lost. The Slaveholding States will no longer have the power of self-government, or self-protection, and the Federal Government will have become their enemy."

This is the great indictment found by the South against the North, and proclaimed as the all-sufficient vindication of the rebellion. While it is true in the main fact alleged—the election of a sectional President—it is untrue in other points. I am no defender of the Republican party, its anti-slavery doctrines, or its candidates. From the day of the commencement of the anti-Slavery agitation thirty years ago, till the

present time, I have opposed it without variation. But I detest falsehood, by whomsoever employed, for whatever purpose; and when it is used to justify the destruction of the Government of this Nation, it demands of me, and of every true man, unbounded execration. Let us examine this indictment, and fairly and honorably decide how far it is, in point of fact, true.

Leaving the main fact—the election of a sectional President—to be considered last, we will notice in the first place the allegations made against the party that elected him. Concerning this party it is averred, that "*it has announced that the South shall be excluded from the common territory.*" Taking the Platform of the Chicago Convention as the criterion of the principles of the Republican party,—and we have a right to judge it by that, as it has a right to object to being judged by anything else,—this charge is true; for in the eighth resolution of that Platform they "*deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States.*" This, in effect, excludes the South from the Territories, and so sustains this charge.

But when they go further, and charge the Republican party with announcing "*that the Judicial tribunal shall be made sectional,*" regard for truth requires me to say that no such announcement is to be found in the Platform of that party. True, individuals did give expression to such an idea; but no party is ever held resposible for all that individuals utter, nor can any party venture to become the endorser of all the sentiments of its

individual members. As we would be judged, let us judge others.

A more extraordinary charge is, that the Republican party announce "*that a war must be waged against Slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States.*" The allegation is not, that Abolitionists in the party proclaim this war, but that *the party* do so. But when I seek for the naked truth, not to uphold or apologize for that party, but to test the justification advanced for treason, I discover no act or word which sustains the charge; but, on the contrary, I find in the Chicago Platform a resolution of directly opposite character, in these words:

"That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce all lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

Justice and frankness demand that the Republican party shall have all the benefit of this explicit declaration. The cause of truth and right gains nothing by resorting to unfairness in dealing with an adversary. And when a party, after attaining power, *acts out* the principles it previously professed, its claim to be regarded as sincere in professing them, must be considered as established. The above declaration was made in May, 1860. During the ensuing session of

Congress, the Republicans, by the withdrawal of the Senators and Representatives of seven seceded States, were in a majority in both Houses; and they brought forward, and passed in both Houses, by a two-thirds vote, the following amendment to the Constitution:

"NO AMENDMENT SHALL BE MADE TO THE CONSTITUTION WHICH WILL AUTHORIZE OR GIVE TO CONGRESS THE POWER TO ABOLISH OR INTERFERE IN ANY STATE, WITH THE DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS THEREOF, INCLUDING THAT OF PERSONS HELD TO LABOR OR SERVICE BY THE LAWS OF SAID STATE."

No just man can read this amendment, and know that it was adopted by a Congress in which there was a majority of Republicans, and not see in it a fair vindication of the sincerity of the party in adopting the above quoted resolution in regard to Slavery in the States. As for myself, I am bound in candor to say—I can not honorably refuse to say—that to my mind the evidence on that point is conclusive. The Republican party not only did not announce "that a war must be waged against Slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States," but they expressly declared against any interference by Congress with Slavery in the States; and, to guard against any such interference in the future, this amendment of the Constitution is offered to the country, which, if adopted, would, without doubt, endure as long as the Constitution itself.

But the great count in the indictment is the election of a President by the votes of one section of the Union; and this is true. *But how came he to be elected?* This question instantly forces itself upon the mind. For

thirty years the anti-Slavery agitation had been in progress, without getting control of the Government; and only four years before, the Republican party had been defeated in a tremendous struggle: how did it secure a triumph in 1860? It is as certain to be recorded in history, as that the history of that year shall ever be written, that the action of the South itself was one of the immediate and prominent causes—if not the great cause—of that triumph. No fact is more undeniable, than that the Democratic party was the only one to which the country could look for numerical strength to avert that result, except that other fact, known to you all, *that the Cotton States broke up that party, and thereby rendered the defeat of Mr.* LINCOLN *impossible.* At the very moment when the anti-Slavery agitation seemed to be approaching victory, and when it was the stern duty of every man in the opposing ranks to forget all minor differences, and stand like a rock against its further progress, those States deliberately abandoned their former position, proclaimed principles which they had previously denied with emphasis, seceded from the party, and themselves opened the way for the result upon which they intended to base their subsequent secession from the Union. Secession was the great object they had aimed at for nearly a third of a century. The evidence of a deep-laid and long cherished conspiracy among them to destroy the Union, is abundant and conclusive. The "proper moment" to "precipitate the Cotton States into a revolution," of which Mr. YANCEY wrote, in 1858—the proper moment to pull a temple down that has been

built three-quarters of a century, and clear the rubbish away and reconstruct another," as was proclaimed by a member of the South Carolina Convention—the proper moment to let slip the dogs of war among children of the same fathers and people of the same nation—the proper moment, in a word, to consummate the treason which had been festering and growing for thirty years—was seen to have arrived; and the plotters were not slow to seize it. They had already proclaimed that the election of a President by the Republican party would be a sufficient cause for the dissolution of the Union, and they set themselves to the work of making that election certain, by their own disruption of the only party that had the numbers to prevent it. And they succeeded, to a miracle. Never was game of duplicity and treachery better played. They betrayed their previously professed principles, their party, and their country, all at once; and at the moment of consummating the crowning act of their sacrilege, they turn to the world with an air of injured innocence, and appeal to mankind to justify a rebellion based on the success of their own most devilish machinations! Has history a parallel to this?

But were it otherwise—had they done all that men could do, to prevent the election of a sectional President, and such had, nevertheless, been elected, on the principles alleged by South Carolina in her Declaration, or even on worse—it was still an ascertained and indisputable fact, before her secession, that in both Houses of the present Congress there would be a majority against him, if all the States should stand firm,

and retain their representation there. In that case, Mr. LINCOLN would have been this day, and certainly for two years to come, the possessor of a barren power, except as to official patronage, and utterly impotent to impress a single principle of his party on the Government, or to touch in a single point the institution of Slavery. But what was this to the schemers of treason? Their work was to destroy the Union, not to defend Slavery. If they stopped to do the latter, the former would be left undone; if they used their constitutional power to protect Slavery, or to obtain guaranties, the Constitution would be preserved: so they trampled upon the Constitution, abjured their allegiance, snapped the bonds of brotherhood, and seized the sword to redress a grievance, which they themselves designedly aided to produce! I need not ask if history has a parallel to this. It stands out, in hideous deformity, the monster iniquity of all the ages, whose dark, deep stain ages can not wash away.

Were anything wanting to give completeness to the ignominy of this act, it is at hand, furnished by the leaders in it, at the moment of its perpetration. While they were putting forth to the world their "Declaration," they were engaged, in their debates, in denying its most solemn allegations. They appealed to mankind to justify their treason, because a President had been elected by a sectional vote; and at the same time declared, among themselves, that they had for a quarter of a century been plotting to accomplish the work of disruption then attained, and that that result had *not*

been produced by that election! Listen to some of the many expressions made in the South Carolina Convention by its master spirits.

Mr. PARKER. "It appears to me, with great deference to the opinions that have been expressed, that the public mind is fully made up to the great occasion that now awaits us. *It is no spasmodic effort that has come suddenly upon us, but it has been gradually culminating for a long series of years, until at last it has come to that point when we may say the matter is entirely right.*"

Mr. INGLIS. "If there is any gentleman present who wishes to debate this matter, of course this body will hear him; but as to delay for the purpose of discussion, I, for one, am opposed to it. As my friend (Mr. Parker) has said, *most of us have had this matter under consideration for the last twenty years, and I presume we have by this time arrived at a decision on the subject.*"

Mr. KEITT. "We are performing a great act, which involves not only the stirring present, but embraces the whole great future of ages to come. *I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political life.* I am content with what has been done to-day, and content with what will take place to-morrow. We have carried the body of this Union to its last resting-place, and now we will drop the flag over its grave."

Mr. RHETT. "*The secession of South Carolina is not an event of a day.* IT IS NOT ANYTHING PRODUCED BY MR. LINCOLN'S ELECTION, OR BY THE NON-EXECUTION

OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW. *It has been a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years;* and in the production of this great result the great men who have passed before us, whose great and patriotic efforts have signalized the times in which they lived, have not been lost. Have the labors of Calhoun been forgotten, when he declared a few years ago for the secession of South Carolina? and that secession would be the consummation of their liberties?"

The review I have taken of the causes assigned for secession, reduces them to three only, which have foundation in fact—the election of a President by a sectional vote, the Personal Liberty laws of four States, and the exclusion of the South from the common territory. As to the first, nothing more need be said: it was produced by the act of the South itself; let not the South complain. As to the second, it is too insignificant as a justification of rebellion, to deserve a moment's notice. Concerning the last, it is as clear to me as the sunlight around us, that it is a shallow subterfuge, and that the South, in reality, cared nothing about the Territories. If the right to take their slaves there was of such value as, when interfered with, to justify them to their own consciences in revolutionary violence, can they tell—can any man tell—why they should take a step which would inevitably exclude Slavery from the Territories forever? Did they believe that an institution could be planted there by war, which they could not carry there in time of peace? Did they hope that, with sword in hand, they could wrest from the government a vast domain, from which the people of the

North should be shut out, except upon such terms as the South might, as an independent power, prescribe? Did they suppose that fear would grant what justice and equity refused? Did they imagine that after seceding from the Union, and thereby renouncing all rights flowing from the Union, they could obtain more easy access to the Territories? No: they knew that secession from the Union was secession from the common property of the Union, as well as from its Constitution. It is, therefore manifest, that they did not secede, because the Territories were closed, or were threatened to be closed against them; for, by seceding, they barred and bolted the gates of the Territories against themselves forever.

THE DUTY OF MISSOURI.

My friends, time does not permit my following any further this doubling trail of perfidy and treason. I have endeavored honestly to expose it to your view, for it is the trail Missouri has been urged by her now fugitive Governor to follow, and Missourians, when they take it up, should understand well what they are after, and where they are to be led. Let him who is willing to make Missouri the unwelcome appendage of a Confederacy founded on the principles and erected by the means I have exhibited to you, take her into that position when he can. I rejoice to believe that there yet remains in our State enough of virtue, honor and patriotism to make the time far distant when it can be done. I will not discuss the question whether Mis-

souri—to use a common expression—ought to "go North" or "go South." Missouri has no *going* to do. Her duty is to stand loyal to the Union and the Constitution. The National Government has put no wrong on her, and she has no occasion to wrong herself by an attempt to change her relations to it. But if, in an evil hour, she should be betrayed into the contagious revolt, which has drawn into its vortex other States that had no part in the original treason of the Cotton States, let the participants in any such movement understand that the Government which never before made its arm really felt, will be felt then, and that to their discomfiture.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

A few words more, and I have done. We are in the midst of an unnatural and consuming civil war. Some four hundred thousand men are under arms, and we know not at what moment the land may tremble under the shock of contending hosts. It is a sight to make the world weep. The cause of humanity, the claims of freedom, the spirit of Christianity, all demand that this terrible conflict should be stayed. But, from the depths of a troubled spirit, I ask, *how can it be?* A part of the nation rebels—declares its revolt irreconcilable—announces that it asks no compromise or reconstruction, will consider none, even though permitted to name its own terms—defies the power of the Nation—wages war upon the National Government, and cries out, "ALL WE ASK IS TO BE LET ALONE?"

How can they be let alone, *without destroying the Union and the Constitution?* If any man will tell me that, I will say, let them alone. With unequaled skill in raising false issues, the secessionists among us labor to fan the flame of rebellion here, by impressing upon the minds of all within the reach of their influence, that the controversy of the revolted States is with "ABE LINCOLN," when those States are in arms against the supreme constitutional authority of the nation. They seek by every contrivance to excite odium against the Government, because "ABE LINCOLN" is, in accordance with the Constitution, at the head of it: a very sufficient reason for changing the Administration, at the proper time, by the votes of the people, if the people desire it, but not the least justification or apology for rebellion. They stigmatize every man as a Black Republican or an Abolitionist, who adheres to the constitutional government of his country, in its efforts to protect itself from subversion. They are convulsed with holy horror at the exercise of alleged unauthorized powers by "ABE LINCOLN," to defend and preserve the Constitution, and in the same breath they declare that we have no Constitution. They hypocritically profess a deep concern and sacred regard for that great charter, and at the same moment are secretly aiding in the fiendish work of its destruction. "ABE LINCOLN," fulfilling his sworn duty to protect the Constitution, is to them a demon of darkness: Jeff. Davis, striking deadly blows at that Constitution, which he has, time and again, sworn to support, is an angel of light. They profess immacu-

late loyalty with their tongues, while their hearts are as traitorous as Benedict Arnold's. They denounce in unmeasured terms the military preparations of the Government to meet this rebellion, and exalt the insurgents as patriots armed to defend their families and their firesides; when not a soldier would have been added to the regular army, or a regiment marched southward, but for a revolt aiming at the entire demolition of the Constitution, and the seizure of the Government by armed usurpation. All these are but the devilish resorts of treason, to sustain its desperate cause. I despise and reject the whole brood of them. I STAND BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES; and when it is threatened with destruction, I no more stop to inquire who is President, than if the police of my city were engaged in quelling a riot, I would higgle about who is Chief of Police. The question is, where is the constitutional authority? To that I am bound to render obedience and support, without constituting myself the judge as to whether, in a dire extremity, it restrains itself precisely within the legally-defined limits, when to do so might leave it at the mercy of foes armed for its subjugation. He who arms himself to subvert that authority, is, by the law of God and man, a rebel and a traitor, no matter who holds office; and if any man can find any other way to deal with him than with the weapons he himself has chosen, let him point it out;—I know of none. Before God, I take no pleasure in the necessity which demands such a resort. All my instincts and principles are against bloodshed;

but no rebellion ever was put down without it; and this we can hardly expect to be an exception. Upon its instigators must rest all the awful consequences of their appeal to arms. They have challenged the combat, and it lies not in their mouths, or in those of its aiders and abettors here, to complain that the government defends itself, by extraordinary, or, even, unconstitutional means. Had such an attack been made upon it by a foreign foe without being repelled, the Nation would have stood disgraced before the world forever: if this rebellious assault be not resisted by all the power of the loyal portion of the Nation, shall we meet any other fate? It is, then, no spirit of malice or vindictiveness which justifies the government in self-protection by arms. The simple alternative is, government or anarchy. The latter would destroy our freedom, perhaps forever, and blight us with a perpetual curse. We are lost, if our Constitution is overthrown. Thenceforward we may bid farewell to liberty. Never were truer or greater words uttered by an American statesman, than when DANIEL WEBSTER closed his great speech in defence of the Constitution, nearly thirty years ago, with that sublime declaration—"LIBERTY AND UNION, NOW AND FOREVER, ONE AND INSEPARABLE!" Union gave us liberty, disunion will take it away. He who strikes at the Union, strikes at the heart of the Nation. Shall not the Nation defend its life? And when the children of the Union come to its rescue, shall they be denounced? And if denounced, will they quail before the mere breath of the Union's foes? For

one, I shrink not from any words of man, save those which would justly impute to me disloyalty to the Union and the Constitution. My country is all to me; but it is no country without the Constitution which has exalted and glorified it. For the preservation of that Constitution I shall not cease to struggle, and my life-long prayer will be, GOD SAVE THE AMERICAN UNION!

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY,

NORTH AND SOUTH.*

One hundred and thirty years ago, this day, he was born, whose birth we now commemorate. More than threescore years have made their records and vanished away, since his revered form was consigned to the vault beneath the shades of his own Mount Vernon; but his name still lives, and will live forever. He came into life a British subject; he left it, an American citizen. Born with no hereditary claim to eminence, he departed at the height of a fame more exalted and pure than that of kings. He was a native of a colony; he died the first man of a NATION. His eyes first opened upon a dependent province; they closed upon an independent COUNTRY, of which he was the acknowledged and honored Father .He entered upon existence under the reign of a distant monarchy; he left it, having wielded the executive power of a republic which he fondly hoped would outlive monarchies. Sharing in no inheritance of constitutional popular government, he bequeathed to his countrymen, in successful and

* An Address delivered at the Union Commemoration, in St. Louis, of Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1862.

stately operation, a Constitution, which his influence had mainly contributed to form, and which challenges the world for an equal in wisdom, purity, and beneficence. He was an American in home, but he became the property of the human race. We call him ours in right of his nativity, but all civilized nations call him theirs, too; for his life is one of the few bright and unstained pages in the history of fallen humanity. It is most fit, friends and countrymen, that in the midst of the din and carnage of the fearful strife with which a righteous Providence permits us to be afflicted, we should pause to renew our love and reverence for that great name, which no strife can take from us, and which must dwell forever in every true American heart, as certainly as it is expelled forever from every heart which harbors the treason that surrounds us now. There is not room in the same breast—hardly in the same sentence—for GEORGE WASHINGTON and Jefferson Davis; and let us devoutly thank God that, in our hearts, only WASHINGTON finds a welcome this night.

But, repugnant as it is to a patriotic American to see those names placed so near together, there is an apparent necessity for it on this occasion; for this is the day set apart in the so-called Confederate States, for the public and defiant induction into office, in WASHINGTON'S own beloved Virginia, and on the anniversary of his birth, of the man who claims to be the chief magistrate of a rebel government, imposed upon a part of that country which WASHINGTON fought for, to the subversion, there, of the Union to which he devoted the best powers of his life, and the overthrow of

the Constitution to which he gave the sanction of his august name! Oh, what a mockery and a sacrilege, to enact such a scene, at such a place, on such a day! Could no other day be found for such a work, but that which has heretofore been hallowed by America's rejoicing homage? Must the memory of WASHINGTON, of all others, be associated henceforth with a desecration which would call his very bones from the tomb, if the dead could be roused from their repose by the heartlessness, the treachery, and the crimes of the living? Of all the manifestations of daring effrontery and contemptuous disregard of most holy obligations, which the wild career of the South has exhibited during the past fourteen months, this is, in spirit, the most hypocritical, the most disgusting. It is not enough that the man who has, again and again, sworn before the world to support the Constitution of the United States, now swears to overturn and destroy it; but he must, in the selection of the day for his impious abjuration, strive to cover with seeming sanctity the act which pollutes his soul with the traitor's oath, and binds him without recall to the parricide's deadly vocation, as, if there is a just God, it chains him without hope to the parricide's swift and ignominous fate.

Fit accomplices with his modern Cataline, in this scene of shameless apostacy from all the ties of country, and from all the consecrated memories and bright hopes of America, are men who, like himself, have, in days gone by, sworn fidelity to the Government of their fathers, but who now conspire with him to crush it into fragments, and upon its ruins erect another, to be the ex-

ponent of their distinctive opinions and doctrines, the representative of their peculiar form of social institutions, and the reward, in its offices and emoluments, of their rapacious and ungodly ambition. They are men whose names, except as they have descended to degenerate sons from Revolutionary sires, call up no glorious historic memories, excite no fire of patriotism, tell of no great deeds, invite no eulogy, deserve no reverence. They belong to that class of political adventurers with whom the greed of political power and place is insatiate, and country inferior to *self*; the curse of any nation, as they have cursed every nation whose history has yet been written. They are playing out the closing scenes of a thirty years' conspiracy against the Constitution of their country, conducted by most of them while they were enjoying their country's confidence and honors, and were bound by sacred oaths to protect and preserve what they were secretly plotting to destroy. They are the apostles of the *State rights* school, which elevates any part of the Nation, organized as a State, to a dignity and power superior to the whole, and, denying that the American people are a Nation at all, calls the Union a league between thirty-four independent sovereignties representing thirty-four distinct and independent peoples. They are the men who inculcate the profound conception, that allegiance, in the highest sense, is due by every citizen, first, to the *State* of his residence, and only subordinately to the United States; when after all their vaunting over an absurdity unworthy of the logic of a boy, there stands, in immovable grandeur, like Chimborazo among mole-hills, the Constitution of the

United States, resting upon this fundamental, imperishable declaration, adopted by the whole people: "*This* CONSTITUTION, *and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, shall be the* SUPREME LAW *of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.*" They have astutely discovered that while WASHINGTON, MADISON, HAMILTON, and their associates supposed, in their simplicity, that, in forming a Constitution, they were creating a *government* for the people of the United States, and cementing the Union of that people for all future time they were, in reality, only respectable mechanics in affairs of state, ingeniously contriving the machinery of an agency of the States, to manage some matters of business, which it was not convenient for potent sovereignties, like South Carolina, Arkansas, or Florida, to be troubled with. They are the men that ascribe this attribute of sovereign constituency to twenty-one States, which were not in existence, or thought of, when the machine was set in motion, and which have been brought into existence by the machine itself, apparently for the sole purpose of multiplying in its own offspring its own masters, and exhibiting to an admiring world the novel spectacle of a created power begetting a progeny of its own creators! They are the men, too, who have revealed and proclaimed the luminous idea, that the soil of a state is sacred against the Nation; and who call it *invasion* of a State, for the troops of the Nation to march over a domain which was bought with the Nation's money, or secured with the Nation's

blood. They are the men who, in foreign lands, rejecting their nationality, register their names in public places as from Virginia, or Mississippi, or Texas, or some other State, and then have to enlighten the ignorant inquirer after the part of the world that is honored with their citizenship, by informing him—no doubt with high disgust—that the mighty sovereignty which owns them, is one of the United States of America! And it is such as they that profane this National Anniversary, by the attempt to establish permanently upon the soil of the Union, a Confederacy based upon violated Constitutions and broken oaths, conceived in treason, born of outrage and fraud, fed upon deception and falsehood, and baptized at a font brimming with fraternal blood.

Around this elect band of audacious conspirators, or scattered over the South, obedient to their commands, are vast bodies of soldiers, who but yesterday gloried in the title of American citizens, and delighted to honor the flag of their Country, which had been their protection from their birth, and which symbolized in all lands the power and grandeur of United America. In their breasts have been, by their leaders, insidiously kindled a hostility to that flag, to which they would have been strangers, if their passions had not been played upon and inflamed by adroit and atrocious appeals, sweeping judgment, sense, and patriotism away in one wild wreck, and converting those who were patriots into the facile instruments of rebellion, more causeless than the history of modern civilization has disclosed, and as futile as it must

inevitably be fatal, alike to deceivers and deceived. Ranged under a bastard banner, of strange and meaningless device, they are armed against the old flag with weapons *stolen from the Nation*, after having been, by treachery and stealth, placed within their reach that they might be stolen. Taught to believe that they were oppressed, though they looked in vain for a single act or proposal of oppression; excited to the point of credulity at which they could be convinced that their liberties were in danger, though not one of those liberties, from the greatest to the least, had been assailed, or even remotely threatened; led to regard the chosen chief magistrate of the Nation, in advance of his inauguration, as a fanatical tyrant, who would use the authority entrusted to him to destroy their domestic institutions, though no act or word of his gave earnest or hint of such intent, and he would be officially powerless to do so, even if the intent existed; and told from day to day and month to month, that "*The North*" was waging a war upon their homes and their firesides, their wives and their daughters, to devastate the one and to defile the other, when not one northern man had volunteered in arms until the South had, without provocation, hurled the blast of war at Sumter, and menaced the Nation with humiliation and death, if it defended not itself: thus told and taught and excited, by ambitious and unscrupulous politicians, to whom they were accustomed to look with deference, they suffered themselves to be betrayed into a crime, the bloody consequences of which must fall upon them in a thousand fold greater proportion

than upon their less numerous, but far more guilty, leaders; and bitter and hopeless will be the day, when they awake to the consciousness at once of the deception to which they have yielded, and of the overwhelming destruction with which the mighty AMERICAN NATION, aroused as it now is, visits every armed band of insurgents, and sweeps from its soil every vestige and memorial of this foul and most unnatural rebellion.

Such, my friends, is one of the pictures which our country presents to the world this day. Too revolting to gaze long upon, let us turn to another, more pleasing and encouraging. More than six hundred thousand patriotic American citizens, faithful to the memory and counsels of WASHINGTON, are under arms on land and sea, called from their quiet homes by the Nation's constitutional chief, to defend the Nation's integrity and life. In the annals of the world such a sight has never before been seen, as such a host, voluntarily arrayed in so brief a time, from the peaceful walks of life, to meet the trials and the perils which, in camp and field and upon the raging deep, make up the soldier's and the sailor's daily record. They move under no alien or doubtful standard, but follow the glorious old flag of the Union, with its four and thirty flashing stars; and their cry is not the pitiful "*All we ask is to be let alone,*" but the thundering and irresistible "*All we ask is that* THOSE STARS *be let alone!*" Those brave battalions march to no impudent "*Dixie,*" but plant their measured tread to "the music of the Union," as it swells forth in the grand measure of

"*Hail Columbia,*" or waves in the flowing strain of "*The Star-spangled Banner,*" or accelerates "the double quick" with the nervous thrill of ancient and homely "*Yankee Doodle.*" Though arrayed against a foe whose sole watchword is "THE SOUTH," no war cry of the "*The North,*" "*The East,*" or "*The West*" fills their throats, but marching for their Country's sake to a soldier's triumph or a soldier's grave, they roll out in mighty chorus "*God save America!*" They go, not to destroy their father's noble work, but to preserve it for themselves and their children, against the cruel assaults of those who renounce America for "the South," and abjure the Constitution for "the peculiar institution." To be sure, some of Southern blood hold them no gentlemen, and therefore not fit to fight "the chivalry;" but certain it is, there are no stolen arms in their hands, nor is there pilfered money in their pockets, nor treachery in their hearts. No, my friends, they are the hardy and honest sons of the Union, your kinsmen and friends and mine, the brothers, husbands, lovers, and children of our sisters and our daughters; and they are marshaled for no holiday work, for no meretricious pageant, for no vengeful foray, but to fight the battles of *their Country;* and they are moving in stern and steady column, to strike treason dead in the very heart of its usurped domain; and woe, woe to them that confront their forward march!

I have thus attempted briefly to portray the salient features of the lurid panorama of war, which, on this anniversary of WASHINGTON'S birth, is moving in the

land of WASHINGTON, from North to South, fixing the interested gaze of the civilized world, and balancing in the scales of fate the destiny of the great American Republic. It is a conflict which will probably hold the chief place forever in the history of civil wars, for its gigantic proportions, and for the unequaled magnitude of the stake at issue. It is a conflict which, so far as I can see, can end only with the complete and final extinction of treason, on the one hand, or of the Union and the Constitution, on the other. Would God some heaven-sent messenger of peace might, even now, speed his flight over the blood-stained land, staying the serried columns, assuaging the bitter strife, and restoring the entire Nation to its former serenity, its ancient brotherhood, and its early devotion to the Constitution; but alas, it is too late, too late! We can neither "let alone" nor be let alone, while armed legions are battering at the foundations of the great temple of our liberties; nor can they stay their sacrilegious work, without abandoning their chiefs to the traitor's fate; and this they will not yet do. Nothing is left us but to yield all, or carry all at the bayonet's point and cannon's mouth. No more terrible alternative could be forced upon our choice. Let the loyal part of the Nation meet it like men, and proclaim that not a tithe of a hair's breadth shall ever be yielded to treason, and that the Flag of the Union shall wave again, unassailed and unquestioned, over every square foot of our Country's soil! Less than this we will not take; more than this we do not ask; just this, God helping us, *shall be!*

But, my countrymen, it is important, not only that this inexorable and resistless purpose should exist, but that we should be able to vindicate the right of our cause, at the bar of the world's opinion, in the forum of conscience, and before the throne of God. Whatever our power, however brilliant our feats of arms or triumphant our final success, they are, at last, but a poor possession, if justice and truth be not with us. Let us, then, give a portion of this hour to a brief review of the causes of this internecine war, and let the truth be spoken in simplicity, sincerity, and courage.

In the first place, let us dispose of one or two fallacies, which have obtained lodgment in the minds of many, and, so far, distorted their view of the present crisis. It is not unusual to hear this war spoken of as a matter of *politics;* as if we were in the midst of a Presidential canvass, and to convert the nation into armies, and the land into camps and battle-fields, were legitimate and brotherly modes of settling political controversies, discovered by our happy people in the science of self-government! This word *politics* is a favorite, in this connection, with some preachers of the Gospel, whose "Southern sympathies" shrink from "declaring the whole counsel of God," when it calls for preaching divine truth as contained in the opening verses of the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. To enforce from the pulpit allegiance to established government as a Bible duty is, with them, to "*preach politics*," of which they have a special, if not a holy, horror. But may not the modern preacher

preach what inspired Paul, of old time wrote, and, doubtless, preached too? When Paul said, "*Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers,*" he left on record God's precept on the subject of allegiance, for the guidance of Christians to the end of time. And he adds this reason for the injunction: "*There is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God.*" And he follows this with the stern declaration: "*Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.*" Plain words, at least to plain men, which Paul was moved by inspiration to record as a rule of Christian duty, but to inculcate which, *here* and *now*, is to "preach politics," which, under present circumstances, is not pleasant to disloyal ears! But, leaving the ministry to square their action with their own consciences and Holy Scripture, I wholly reject the idea that the people of the United States are at war over a matter of party politics, or politics of any kind. The question is not how the Government shall be carried on,—which is the appropriate field of politics,—but whether the Constitution and Government shall be carried off by a turbid and raging flood of revolt and treason. The strife is not for the best mode of keeping the government upright in its position and action, but to keep it standing at all. It is not a war of rivalry between patriots for the wisest and safest administration of our national affairs, but a struggle—a life-and-death struggle—between disruption, anarchy, and dissolution, on one side, and the Constitution, order, stability, and freedom, on the other.

And, in the words of the great and lamented DOUGLAS, uttered almost as he descended to his tomb, "*There are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war; only patriots—or* TRAITORS."

Another fallacious idea, which has found place in some minds, showing an utter misapprehension, or exceedingly perverted estimate, of the pending conflict, and tending only to weaken the detestation of patriots for treason, and shake their fidelity to their government, and to assign to the war the low rank of a petty squabble, is, that it is a mere *family quarrel!* That is, according to them, "Cousin Sally" likes "niggers," and "Uncle Sam" don't, and Cousin Sally has gone to scratching Uncle Sam's face about it, and Uncle Sam is "putting in his best licks" to keep Cousin Sally from doing it! Pardon such seeming levity in such an hour as this! But how could this frowzy and unkempt brat be otherwise dealt with, than by raking its stolid features with the back teeth of a currycomb of ridicule? And yet you will find people who have so utterly failed, after nearly a year of civil war, to form any right conception of its origin, purpose, and imminent results, as to permit those features to be photographed upon their minds, and to give form, as of necessity they must, to their opinions and feelings in regard to a contest involving the very being of their country, and their most precious interests, and those of their posterity, even to remote generations! Let us hope that upon such the light may yet break, and disclose to them the frightful precipice down which

traitors are striving to dash the institutions of their country.

With these two points disposed of, let us proceed. In any review of the causes of the rebellion it is proper to notice the grievances alleged by the South in defense of its parricidal acts. There is not time now, however, to discuss them at large. On the last anniversary of our National Independence, in addressing an assemblage of loyal citizens in the interior of this State, I gave such attention as my ability enabled to the "*Declaration of the Causes of Secession*," put forth by the South Carolina Convention,—the only one proceeding from any of the seceded States, of which I have knowledge,—and endeavored to demonstrate, as I am not without hope I did, at least to loyal minds, that the matters therein paraded before the world were no more the causes of secession, than they were the semblance of a justification of the crime they were intended to vindicate. After a somewhat extended examination of that document, it appeared that the whole array of their complaints summed itself up in these three points: 1. The election of a President of the United States by the votes solely of the non-slaveholding States; a result directly and designedly produced by the South itself, so far as Southern action could produce it, and planted as the fulcrum of the great lever which should heave the Southern States from their orbits, and inaugurate the chaos whence should spring matured and full-armed, a Southern Confederacy: 2. The enactment, years before, of Personal Liberty laws in four Northern States (in-

stead of *fourteen*, as falsely alleged,) concerning which the South, up to that time, had made little or no complaint: and 3. The position assumed by the Republican party in favor of the exclusion of Slavery from the Territories. Concerning these allegations it is needless that your time be now further occupied, than to remark, that were they the real causes of secession, they would exhibit the paltriest palliation ever offered of the most stupendous of popular crimes. But it is one of the most revolting features of South Carolina's dark dishonor, that in the very hour of her Convention's adoption of that Declaration, the same men who sent it forth, openly and exultingly declared, on the floor of the Convention, that these were *not* the causes of her secession, but that the blow then aimed at the Union was "*a matter which had been gathering head for thirty years*," and "*had at last come to that point when they might say it was entirely right!*" Thus did they, in the act of disruption blazon their hypocrisy, and, adding falsehood to treason, link themselves to a historic infamy, compared with which that of Benedict Arnold is no longer supreme.

But, to reiterate, these are no more the causes of Southern treason, than fire is the cause of ice, or the the sun the origin of darkness. Its cause lies deeper down than that. It is only at the surface that the vexed ocean rolls and dashes under the tempest's power; but when the submerged volcano bursts forth, it heaves upward the whole incumbent mass of waters and shakes land and sea with a convulsive shock. And so, when, we look for the causes of this rebellion, we find them,

not in the storms which at intervals sweep over the popular mind, lashing the billows of partizan passion into temporary fury, but in a fire surrounding the very foundations of the social structure, hitherto confined to subterranean recesses, but now surging upward with flame and smoke, fiery hail and seething lava, ominous of death to American liberty, and blazing with dismay to the votaries of freedom in all the world. Let us calmly survey the movements and analyze the elements of this devouring force.

The observer of our national character and development will have noticed that, from his early recollection, the American people have been divided into two distinct, yet not dissevered, parts, by a line representing no geographical or climatic boundary, but following the borders of certain States, irregularly, from East to West. On either side of that line is found a part of the same people, descended from a common ancestry, inheriting the same institutions, speaking the same tongue, subject to the same national laws, and in their local constitutions exhibiting, hardly with a variation, the same principles and machinery of government. In the diversified associations and interests of life they were practically one; passing and repassing from side to side freely, and bound together by countless ties of friendship, of parental, filial, and fraternal affection, and of wedded love. More than once they have fought, hand in hand, under the same flag, and never did the soldiery of one gain a victory that was not shared by that of the other. Did calamity overtake one, the other was ready to minister relief; did prosperity smile on

one, its warmth cheered the other: did danger threaten all, they vied with each other in repelling it. But still, *there was the line;* and in the course of years, on either side, there gradually grew up opinions upon social and political questions, variant from those prevailing on the other. The difference, at first tolerated, if not kindly borne with, became at length the source of annoyance. One grew meddlesome, the other, restive and intolerant. Ultraism and pertinacity in a comparative few on one side, was met by an almost unanimous defiance and assertion of superiority on the other; which naturally expanded into a demand that its opinions should control, its political dogmas predominate, and its hand direct the movements of the common Government; though its free citizens hardly numbered a fourth of those of the whole country. From time to time in the course of a third of a century, a spirit of discontent with the Union which had covered all with blessings, betrayed itself; only to be followed quickly by imperious exactions, with the alternative of disruption and dissolution. It is within the knowledge of all, that for the last thirty years those exactions have been complied with, almost without intermission. The arrogant will of the minority controlled the majority. The Nation spoke through organs chosen at the dictation of its smaller part. But at last, in the mutations of events, this ascendacy ceased; the executive power was transferred to the majority; and before even the constitutional forms of its investiture could be observed, the haughty minority revolted against the authority it had failed to retain, and plunged the nation into the intolerable horrors of civil war

rather than tolerate the four years' chief magistracy of a constitutionally elected President!

My friends, if this be not a true and fair statement of the rise of this war, I confess my inability to make one. But this does not indicate the *cause* of the war. Other questions still arise. Why should disunion and its train of incalculable evils be embraced on one side, but never purposed, or even dreamed of, except by some poor fanatics, on the other? Whence the venomous influence that could so pervert the loyalty of one part, while the other remained steadfast to the Constitution? How is it that one proclaims and defends the right of secession, and the other denies it? Why should one be ready to fly to arms in rebellion, and the other touch not a weapon until war is driven into its very teeth? For such radical differences between two parts of the same nation, leading to such fatal issues, surely no light or transient cause suffices. To say that they spring from contests of expediency, or from collisions of political dogmas or principles, or from the rivalries of partizan leaders, is only to skim the surface, and to reach not the vital spring that lies beneath. My countrymen, before Earth and Heaven there is but *one cause* for this hideous rebellion, and that cause is—Slavery. That is the key to Southern unanimity in opinion, feeling, and policy; the secret of the intense cohesion of Southern people at home, and of their oneness of sentiment wherever scattered; the foundation of the pestilent heresy of State allegiance, which, in the critical hour, snatched from our flag a host of able and accomplished officers of our army and navy, to fight the

country which had made them; the explanation of Southern demands for the supremacy of the minority; the source of that fell spirit of domination, which would have all or destroy all; in short, the one sole impelling force which precipitated the South against the bulwarks of the Constitution, and fills the land this day with confusion, lamentation, and death.

When Mr. STEPHENS, of Georgia, in March, 1861, in his speech at Savannah, declared that Slavery was THE CHIEF STONE OF THE CORNER IN THE NEW EDIFICE of Government which the South had just then reared, in defiance of that which the fathers had framed, he threw off all disguises, and laid bare to the world the cause and the spirit of the revolt, in which he stands second in rank only to its desperate chief. Give me your attention while I recall to your remembrance a few sentences of that remarkable speech. He was indicating to his hearers the points of difference between the rebel Constitution and that which WASHINGTON had aided to establish, and the South was wickedly attempting to destroy, and he spoke as follows:

"But not to be tedious in enumerating the numerous changes for the better, allow me to allude to one other—though last, not least: the new Constitution has put at rest *forever* all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions—African slavery as it exists among us—the proper *status* of the negro in our form of civilization. THIS WAS THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE LATE RUPTURE AND REVOLUTION. JEFFERSON, in his forecast, had anticipated this as the 'rock upon which the old Union would split!' He was

right. What was conjecture with him is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock *stood* and *stands*, may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that, somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at the time.. The Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last, and hence no argument can be justly used against the constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. *Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error.* It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a Government built upon it—when the 'storm came and the wind blew, it *fell!*' *Our new Government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas; its foundations are laid, its corner stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery—subordination to a superior race—is his natural and moral condition. This, our new Government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.*"

Now, were each and every one of us totally ignorant of every previous fact in our country's history, we could not, after reading those utterances of one of the South's most trusted and most gifted, as he once seemed one of her most patriotic, sons, suppress the conviction that Slavery is the first, last, and only cause of the rebellion, of which he stood forth the able and acknowledged exponent. It is in vain to say, as many do, that Slavery is the pretext, and not the cause. Why did they seek the pretext? What should excite the desire for it? The spirit and intent of treason were there; whence came these? Is there yet some other influence, not avowed, but more potent than that of Slavery, and dwarfing it into the littleness of a mere pretext? No, not so. In that "peculiar institution" is found, not only that without which the rebellion would never have shown its horrid front, but the creating and vitalizing power which gave it life and hurried forward its blasting steps. When the insurgents clamor for "*the right of self-government*," in the face of the fact that no government has ever been over them for an hour, but that of their own choice or their own making, they mean of self-government as identified with Slavery, separate from any possible form of government not so identified. When they vauntingly profess to be fighting for "*Independence*," it is for independence of the Government of their own free and cordial adoption, because "the chief stone of its corner" is not Slavery. When they grind "the old Constitution" beneath their war-clad heels, and over its prostrate columns erect another,

it is that the blood-stained portals of the new may be the perpetual refuge and citadel of Slavery. When they renounce the country of their birth, and call that part of it their country, which they can cut off with the sword, it means that where Slavery is not, shall not be their country; and it says to Slavery, "*Whither thou goest, we will go: where thou lodgest, we will lodge: thy people shall be our people: where thou diest, will we die, and there will we be buried!*"

Do me not the injustice, my friends, to suppose that I thus speak in any spirit of fanaticism against the institution of slavery, or from any former unison of sentiment with those who have so long disturbed the country with demands for its abolition. The views I have entertained for thirty years on that subject remain unchanged. *But* THIS WAR *against the Constitution of my Country has* DRIVEN *me to the conclusion I have expressed*, as it has tens of thousands of others, who, like myself, were never associated with any party which avowed antagonism to Slavery as an article of its political faith. I have uttered the deliberate convictions of my judgment, on a subject which could not be thrust aside in any discussion of the present aspects of our National affairs; and I should have held myself faithless to the solemn requirements of this hour, if I had failed to speak what I believe to be the TRUTH, lest perchance, it set some teeth on edge, or bring down imprecations on my head.

What, then, it may be asked, shall be done with this pernicious cause of revolt and treason? Shall it, as

some have urged, be summarily destroyed by the strong arm of military power, and the Nation at once relieved from its baneful influence? In my judgment, No! The Nation need not fear to let it live out the remainder of its allotted time, and is abundantly able to keep it within its legitimate sphere, and hold it in due subjection to constitutional rule. This accursed rebellion can and will be subdued, without resorting to a measure, which would involve the country in serious complication. And we owe a meed of kindness to our loyal and faithful brethren in the insurgent States,—many thousands in number,—who, overborne by the ruthless and despotic sway which ever presides over rebellion, have been forced to stand mute and tearful spectators of their Country's dishonor, and to accept the bitter choice of impoverishment, perhaps death, or a silent submission to a power they detest, and whose prostration they will be the first to welcome. Let not the glorious old STARS *and* STRIPES in their victorious progress Southward, be the harbinger to them of the loss of what the pirate flag they hate had spared. Let them not be reduced to the level of the traitors who have dominated their land, nor made to feel that the Country, for whose triumph they have sighed and prayed, beggars while it embraces them.

But let it once be manifest that rebellion can not be otherwise subdued, and that we are shut up to choose between our noble Country with its priceless Constitution, and Slavery; then, with every fibre of my heart and every energy of my nature, I will pass

along the universal cry of all patriots—DOWN WITH SLAVERY FOREVER! I would then no more hesitate which to choose, than, in view of death, I would balance between eternal life and eternal perdition. But, manifestly, the time is not yet, when the American people *must* make that choice. They have but just got ready to strike the rebellion, and already the monster recoils and staggers under stunning blows. The power of this stalwart Nation is but beginning to be felt. The *hundred days*, which began at FORT HENRY, and have already recorded the glory of FORT DONNELSON, and, with God's help, will be vivid with an unbroken series of like achievements, may suffice to strike off the hydra's hundred heads; but whether at their end or after, the Nation will come forth from the conflict, "*fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.*"

Let us be patient like WASHINGTON, and we shall triumph as WASHINGTON! Let us not convert this war for the Constitution into a war against Slavery, until it is evident that the former can not be saved without the extirpation of the latter. Let us not be quick to destroy what has, in effect, already destroyed itself. The doom of Slavery was sealed by the South itself, on the day that South Carolina, in her ordinance of secession, led off in this dance of death. The venom of treason then entered its vitals, and its days, whether many or few, are numbered. But were it certain to live in this land yet a thousand years, it is just as certain that never again will the impious attempt be made, to barter away our resplendent Union for an

oligarchy of Slavery. The aristocracy of the kingdom of Cotton has struck its first blow at American Republicanism, and it will be its last. The Nation sleeps no more over its liberties. Taught, as never before, the incalculable value of its free institutions, and the source of their danger, it has already mounted guard over them; and evermore hereafter, by day and by night, in sunshine and in gloom, the cheery "*All's well*" of freedom will ring out on the same air that wafts to Mount Vernon the Nation's benedictions on the name of WASHINGTON.

THE REBELLION:

ITS ORIGIN AND LIFE IN SLAVERY.*

In the placid bay, on the south-eastern coast of the United States, stands a noble fortress, erected by the American Government, for the protection of a Southern commercial capital and the interior region connected with it. Through many years and at vast expense, New England granite was quarried, and by tens of thousands of tons transported ocean-wise, to drop into that bay the foundations of that fortress, and upon them to build its massive walls. It was completed; and behind its frowning battlements that commercial capital reposed in security, odorous of southern flowers and warm with the rays of a southern sun.

That fortress was SUMTER—that capital, CHARLESTON; one named for a patriot of '76, the other for a British King; each appropriately named. The plain and solid granite fabric looked the republican hero—the ornate and aristocratic city typified the king. Both were destined to historic immortality.

* A Speech delivered in Mercantile Library Hall, St. Louis, April 14, 1862; having been previously spoken, in substance at Union, Mo., April 7, 1862.

In the fortress was a little band of seventy men, with less than three days' food in store, and above them waved the American flag; on the neighboring shores, behind ominous batteries, under a banner till then unknown, were a hundred times their number, in warlike array. It was night. The silent stars looked down upon the bay, the city, the batteries, the fortress, the seven thousand men, and the seventy; and nothing told them that ere they shone upon the brow of another night, a shock would thrill from that spot along the world's nerves, which might not cease to vibrate while the world stands.

The surrender of that fortress was demanded,—ruthlessly and unrighteously demanded,—and righteously, as well as bravely, refused; and in the dark hour preceding dawn the seven thousand warn the seventy, that in one hour from that time they will open fire from their batteries upon the fortress, behind which slumbered the city of kingly name. It was an hour of treason's demoniac preparation for attack, of patriotism's calm and steady readiness for defense; an hour of years to the angel host that viewed from their starlit heights the nearing triumph of traitors over their country; an hour of wild exultation among the infernal host, over the coming revelry of war and death.

The hour ended; and as the awakening day gave light to the seven thousand, those batteries, north and south, east and west, thundered forth, and Peace fled affrighted and weeping from that placid bay and from America! For four and forty hours there beat upon

that fortress a horrible tempest, above and below, outside and inside, of deadly missiles, bomb and shell, cold and hot; but the seventy stood firm. But human endurance, though endowed with superhuman courage, can not long resist a hundred times its strength. In the five and fortieth hour, wasted and worn by brave labor and exhausting vigils, the seventy—greater in defeat than all the seven thousand in triumph—capitulated with honor, and bearing Sumter's untarnished flag in their loving arms, marched forth from that granite fortress, and sailed from that southern bay, to receive a nation's admiring thanks, and to live with Leonidas and his Spartan three hundred, in historic renown for ever.

Such was the scene which, this day a twelvemonth since, closed the first assault of Americans upon their Country—the first humiliation of America's flag by her own children. As the tale was told over the world, nations started in astonishment and awe. Tyrants laughed, for it bespoke the downfall of republics; the votaries of freedom wept, for it seemed the knell of liberty. The people who loved that dishonored flag sprang to their feet with one mighty impulse, and every heart swelled with the stern resolve to wipe out the disgrace, and punish the traitors who had inflicted it. Twenty millions of them answered those thundering batteries with a shout that shook the earth. Hundreds of thousands arrayed themselves in the unaccustomed panoply of war, and, leaving kindred, friends, and home, took up the line of march to victory or death, under that flag, for that flag! It was such

an uprising of a great people as no nation, barbarian or civilized, pagan or Christian had ever before beheld. It was far beyond and above anything that the traitors had dreamed of. It was a noble tribute to a flag which symbolized only justice, honor, and national glory, wherever it waved. It is right that we remember the anniversary of that day, and while we recall its humiliating scenes, think also of the glorious response of the twenty millions. *It tells us where the defenders of American liberty may be found, in the hour of need.*

The unprovoked attack on Sumter was not the beginning; it was only a necessary sequence of preceding events. Sixteen months ago from this time began the treasonable work, of which that was but the outbreak: a period of time which I can not look back upon, without the feelings of one who, from having gazed all his life upon bright and beautiful scenes of peace and happiness, has been suddenly compelled to turn to one of wrath and misery and death, and witness its pageantry of woe pass before him for long and weary months, sickening his days and haunting his nights, until his heart almost bursts with grief over the ruin, before his eyes, of what he held most dear. The 20th day of December, 1860, dawned upon a happy and united nation; its sun went down upon a people with treason-fires lighted in their midst. From that day—when South Carolina struck her ferocious blow at the Constitution, and mocked and spit upon the flag of the Union, to this,—the great American nation has struggled for its life. We proudly thought the nation immortal; but we find that its existence, like

our own, must be defended against the assassin's stab. We trusted, and, as we now know, blindly trusted to America's sons for America's protection; but they became her bitterest assailants, and would be her murderers. We believed her Constitution safe in the hearts of all the people; but we have lived to see that a part of that people had been educated to destroy, at the bidding of unprincipled and remorseless leaders, that which distinguished this above all preceding nations—*its written charter of government.* We had faith in the virtue of the people: we find it, in a wide section, perverted and gone. We confided in a universal patriotism: we discover that in that section patriotism means COTTON! We reposed in the strength of a true and pervading allegiance: we are taught that there allegiance is *paramount adhesion to* SLAVERY! We looked for love, and were met with hate; for truth, and were confronted with brazen falsehood; for fair dealing, and were ensnared by treachery; for forbearance, and were assailed with threats, and taunts, and domineering exactions; for open-handed and high-toned chivalry, and were opposed with chicanery and fraud, too subtle to be understood by honest men—too audacious and unscrupulous to be by upright people believed possible. Such, in brief, is the experience through which loyal citizens have, since that fatal twentieth of December, 1860, been called to pass. In the history of civilized nations it has no modern parallel. It comprehends every ingredient which could give bitterness to the cup, every shadow that could fix intense gloom upon the retrospect, every element

which could becloud the future with discouragement and dismay.

But why dwell on the gloomy aspects of these evil times? Through a year of civil war we have beheld its terrible devastations, and nothing is wanting to impress upon our minds the dread realities of which we have, during day time, been daily witnesses. Every succeeding day but widens the circle of destruction and mourning, and enlarges the dark record left by the crime of *that* day. And long, it may be, that record is to continue to be written; until those that read it might pray for the appalling scroll to be shut out forever from their view, in the night of a welcome death. But, heart-sickening as it is, we must still look upon the deadly strife; and our children and the world must behold it, too; and with us, and with them, and with all in the wide earth, the question starts up unbidden, will not be kept down, will be heard along the line of coming ages—*Whence the origin, what the life of this dire outbreak of popular fury, this satanic onslaught upon the best of human governments?* This inquiry can never be out of time, or out of place. We can not know how to estimate or deal with a present calamity, if we know not its cause and nature; nor will our posterity be wiser in some evil day which, perchance, may come to them, if they comprehend not what brought these days upon us. Let us, then, endeavor, with somewhat of fullness, to answer this ever recurring question.

If ever a people were averse to believe that treason was rife among them, it was the American people, prior to South Carolina's desperate plunge into the fiery gulf

of secession. Again and again, in the heated conflicts of parties, through a long series of years, Southern threats of disunion had broken harshly upon the public ear; but the North, even up to the last moment of hope, refused to recognize the possibility of their attempted execution. But, in the light of the past year's events, no thinking man can fail now to see that, sooner or later, such an attempt was inevitable; for reasons which I will proceed to state.

You know, and all candid observers know, that the people of the United States present two distinct, and in some respects, uncongenial developments. Without attempting to trace these in all their courses, it is enough for this occasion to refer to their bearings upon our political organization as a nation, under a common government. Of the two developments one is in its nature and principles essentially democratic (not using the word in a party sense); the other, in those points, essentially aristocratic; the former belonging to the Northern States, the latter to the Southern. Each obeyed the law of its own condition. The absence of Slavery and the universality of free labor in the North stimulated a democratic outgrowth; while the opposite order in the South fostered a social aristocracy, which, by a resistless tendency, became also political. The whole history of the country since it achieved Independence has proved this. Indeed, I am not aware that intelligent Southerners deny—but, on the contrary, they seem rather to boast—that the legitimate and certain effect of Slavery is to create an essential aristocracy. He that was born to authority, and has been accustomed

to implicit obedience from large numbers of dependents, may ever be expected to become, in a greater or less degree, tenacious of power, ambitious for its increase in his hands, impatient of restraint, and imperious in subjecting others to his will.

These two elements, opposite in their organic principles and their tendencies, might have co-existed in the same nation without dangerous conflict, but for the important fact that the democratic section steadily and rapidly gained in numbers upon the other, until the slaveholding interest, even when combined as a unit, was a minority, and apparently, indeed certainly, destined to remain so. Had Mr. CALHOUN'S idea of a minority veto upon the will of the majority been engrafted upon our national Constitution, the South would never have dreamed of secession, for it would forever have governed the nation. But as the Constitution is that of a republic, based upon the fundamental principle that the majority shall govern, the aristocracy revolted at the approaching application of that principle to themselves; and, rather than tolerate a majority not controlled by them, whether its rule were right or wrong, just or unjust, resolved to cast off the Constitution of their own adoption, and, by revolutionary violence, erect a separate government for themselves, which should be, as they term it, *homogeneous*; that is should represent slaveholding communities only, and reflect their aristocratic features and sentiments.

Now, my friends, uninfluenced, if I know myself, by passion or prejudice, I hold this to be a candid and true statement of the case. It is presented because

we can get no intelligent view of the cause of the rebellion, without considering those facts. My proposition is, that the present conflict was, sooner or later, certain to come. Not because the Northern majority would attempt to subvert the rights of the slaveholding States, but because the aristocratic minority would, with absolute certainty, separate itself, by violence, if necessary, from the democratic majority, the very hour it could no longer subject that majority to its will. It is folly to shut our eyes to this inevitable operation of an invariable law of humanity. No aristocracy ever yet failed to grasp at power, or ever surrendered it without a struggle, and none ever will. If necessary, it will fight to retain it. For many years we refused to believe that the Southern aristocracy would seek that terrible resort, because it seemed out of the range of any imaginable possibility that the descendants of our Revolutionary sires could ever strike at the life of their glorious Country. How bitterly we were mistaken, let the past year's history tell! We forgot that an aristocracy ruled the South, and that aristocracies stop not at blood to hold and perpetuate their predominance. We forgot that the lust of power regards not the ties that keep just men to the path of right. And while the loyal portion of the nation hesitated, doubted, wondered, and desired conciliation, *the* SOUTHERN ARISTOCRATS *struck the blow which precipitated this war.* They aimed it deliberately, with many years' premeditation, and with a relentless purpose to destroy. At *their* door lies the awful account of the most causeless and most indefensible of all rebellions.

Not one of all the thousands of valuable lives sacrificed in this mortal struggle, but is chargeable to them. Not a groan or a sigh escapes suffering hearts, but rises to Heaven in accusing thunder-tones against that aristocratic minority, which threw "firebrands, arrows, and death" into the midst of a happy people, without a shadow of justification, without even a provocation.

My friends, it is vain to say, as many do, that the anti-Slavery agitation which has existed in the Northern States for many years, was the cause of Southern rebellion. I admit the existence and pernicious character of that agitation, and have always condemned it. From its first manifestation to the present time, I have uniformly opposed it. But I do not intend, if I can prevent it, that treason shall hide its hideous lineaments behind Abolitionism. The latter is bad enough; but the former is ten thousand times worse. The latter would destroy Slavery if it could, but is without the least power to it: the former would disrupt the Union, overthrow the Constitution, and split the nation into hostile fragments; and its power has shown itself such as to require half the military force of the loyal States to crush it. If Abolitionism is to be charged with causing this rebellion, it should have *preceded* Southern disunionism. But the whole world knows that ANDREW JACKSON beat down nullification and secession, in 1832, when there was not a known—certainly not a meddlesome—Abolitionist in all the free States, nor had there been heard a whisper of anti-Slavery agitation there. Treason, then, was in the South before

Abolitionism was in the North. And if the history of the last thirty years proves anything, it is that though the secession monster recoiled before the "old hero's" blows, *it was only to crouch in its lair, and watch, and wait.* The spirit of disunion which, in 1832, made the tariff the pretext for nullification, and threatened secession if the government attempted to execute in South Carolina the law of Congress which the Convention of that State had declared null and void within her borders, never slept for a single moment. It lived and grew in Southern hearts, extended its control over Southern minds, was a perpetual spring of Southern policy, and long held up a Southern Confederacy as the realization of a Southern millennium. When the tariff question failed to afford it a foothold, it fulfilled JACKSON'S prophecy that its next attempt would be in connection with the subject of Slavery. Unhappily the Northern agitation on that subject, which began in 1834,—though limited in extent and of feeble proportions, and for many years hardly respectable in the number of its adherents,—furnished that pretext only too soon. Southern traitors saw in it their best hope, and the disunion spirit acquired new life. It presented a rallying point, around which they hoped and labored to gather to disunion the whole body of the slave States. But it was the point of revival, not of origin. *I believe there has not been a moment of time for* FIFTY YEARS, *when disunion was not, to a greater or less extent, the ruling thought of leading Southern politicians.* If this be true, it stamps with the basest hypocrisy all the Southern clamor about violated rights, and

brands Southern leaders as the worst of traitors. That it is true, I will endeavor briefly to show.

No man will deny that the attempt of South Carolina, in 1832, to exercise the assumed State right to nullify within her borders a law of Congress, was to every intent and purpose, DISUNION. I assume, and the propriety of the assumption will hardly be questioned, that it was impossible for the people of any State, to have been *suddenly* brought to participate in, or consent to, disunion. The enormity of the act, viewed in any light, was too great, and its probable consequences too portentous, for it to have found easy favor with any portion of the people. It was necessary to *educate* them to it. Hence, were we without any direct evidence whatever, we could not doubt that the spirit of disunion existed in South Carolina, some time before its abortive effort in 1832. How long before, we can not know conjecturally; but, certainly, some years. But among the materials for history which this rebellion has brought to light, is that which, fortunately for the cause of truth, fixes a time long before 1832, when the thought of disunion was revolving in burning courses through the brain that afterwards exerted a more controlling influence over the South, than that of any other man. I need hardly say that I refer to JOHN C. CALHOUN. He, at least, if no other, as far back as the year 1812, entertained and uttered the thought of disunion. Whether it originated with him, can not be told. It is enough, that he gave expression to it early in his public life, and that the idea has never died since; but has been cherished in his State,

until it culminated in the incomparable crime of the twentieth of December, 1860. The evidence of his having at so early a day—and, be it remarked, during our last war with Great Britain—yielded his great mind to the lure of treason, is to be found in a letter of the venerable Commodore CHARLES STEWART, of the United States Navy, dated May 4, 1861, and published extensively at the time. In that letter Commodore STEWART gives his reminiscences of a conversation which took place in 1812, between him and Mr. CALHOUN, then a Representative in Congress. It would be interesting to read the whole letter, but there is not time for that. I must content myself with that part of it which relates to the matter in hand.

In the conversation, Commodore STEWART said:

"You in the South and South-west are decidedly the aristocratic portion of this Union; you are so in holding persons in perpetuity in slavery; you are so in every domestic quality; so in every habit in your lives, living and actions; so in habits, customs, intercourse and manners; you neither work with your hands, heads, nor any machinery, but live and have your living, not in accordance with the will of your Creator, but by the sweat of slavery; and yet you assume all the attributes, professions and advantages of democracy."

To this Mr. Calhoun replied:

"I see that you speak from the head of a young statesman, and from the heart of a patriot, but you lose sight of the politician and the sectional policy of the people. I admit your conclusions in respect to us

Southrons. That we are essentially aristocratic I can not deny, but we can and do yield much to democracy. This is our sectional policy; we are from necessity thrown upon and solemnly wedded to that party (however it may occasionally clash with our feelings), for the conservation of our interests. *It is through our affiliation with that party, in the Middle and Western States, that we hold power; but when we cease thus to control this nation, through a disjointed democracy, or any material obstacle in that party which shall tend to throw us out of that rule and control, we shall then resort to* THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION. The compromises of the Constitution, under the circumstances, were sufficient for our fathers; but, under the altered condition of our country from that period, *leave to the South no resource but* DISSOLUTION: for no amendments to the Constitution could be reached through a convention of the people under the three-fourths rule."

It is upon the evidence furnished by this letter, as well as by reasoning from the necessity of educating the people of South Carolina up to disunion, prior to 1832, that I base my conviction that that fatal idea has influenced the Southern mind, more or less, for a full half-century past. Whether so or not, however, the other position remains—concerning which there can be no possible doubt—that disunionism preceded Abolitionism several years; and therefore the latter can not be the cause of the rebellion whose flames encircle us now, bursting out from fires kindled more than thirty years ago, that have never once gone out in all that time.

Let us now glance at a few points in the history of the United States from the days of nullification to the present time. Through that entire period disunionism has had but one home in this land, and that was in the South. If there were any in the North who entertained the wretched thought, they were so few and so feeble in influence, as to occasion not a moment's uneasiness to to any but themselves. The South, and pre-eminently South Carolina, has all the honor of the monster's paternity; and the chord which, from the first, was touched, was that which would easily vibrate through Southern hearts—*the apprehended loss of Southern control in the national Government.* It is very remarkable that the prominent thought in the speech with which Mr. CALHOUN, in the Senate, on the 15th of February, 1833, laid the foundation for the succeeding movement toward disunion, was the very same used by the South Carolina Convention, in December, 1860, to seduce the other slave States into secession. *Both exhibited a lively dread of the South's being in a minority.* It was the old spectacle of an aristocracy clinging to power; the convulsive struggle of hands accustomed to the sceptre, to keep it. In that speech the great Southerner elaborated his theory of a minority veto upon the will of the majority, and illustrated it from Roman and Jewish history. From it I present a few sentences, which you will agree with me were a fit prelude to that deep-laid plot, which, long after his voice ceased to be heard on earth, bore the burning fruits of treason. He said:

"But to return to the general government: we have

now sufficient experience to ascertain that the tendency to conflict in this action is between Southern and other sections. The latter having a decided majority, must habitually be possessed of the powers of the government, both in this and in the other House; and being governed by that instinctive love of power so natural to the human breast, they must become the advocates of the power of government, and in the same degree opposed to the limitations; while the other and weaker section is necessarily thrown on the side of the limitations. In one word, the one section is the natural guardian of the delegated powers, and the other of the reserved; and the struggle on the side of the former will be to enlarge the powers, while that on the opposite side will be to restrain them within the constitutional limits. The contest will, in fact, be a contest between power and liberty, and such he considered the present; *a contest in which the weaker section, with its* PECULIAR LABOR, *productions, and situation, has at stake all that can be dear to freemen.* Should they be able to maintain in their full vigor their reserved rights, liberty and prosperity will be their portion; but if they yield, and permit the stronger interest to consolidate within itself all the powers of the government, *then will its fate be more wretched than that of the aborigines whom they have expelled, or of their slaves.* * * * * Every Southern man, *true to the interests of his section* and faithful to the duties which Providence has alloted him, *will be forever excluded from the honors and emoluments of this government,* which will be reserved for those only who have qualified themselves by politi-

cal prostitution for admission into the Magdalen Asylums."

Bitter, severe words! with a depth of meaning not then fathomed, even by the great statesmen around him in the Senate, but in the light of this day appallingly clear. They were spoken just as nullification was quailing before JACKSON'S tremendous charge, in his well remembered Proclamation, of December, 1832, and before the slightest ripple of anti-slaveryism had disturbed the surface of the nation. They were spoken by the universally acknowledged champion of the South, and were meant to influence and shape *Southern* action; for the speech was such as no sane man would have delivered, with expectation of its acceptance in the North or the West. Indeed, the evident design was to array the sentiment of the "weaker section," the South, against the stronger sections, the North and West. And what was referred to, to produce the desired effect? "THE PECULIAR LABOR, PRODUCTIONS AND SITUATION" OF THE SOUTH. That topic was adroitly sprung upon the Southern mind, to take the place of the then defunct tariff issue; sprung before the South knew experimentally what anti-slaveryism was; sprung in connection with a *quasi* demand for a minority control of the government; and, beyond all question, intended as the rallying cry of the South, from that time forth, until, in Mr. YANCEY'S words, "*at the proper moment, by one organized concerted action, they could precipitate the cotton States into a revolution!*"

Now, my friends, if that was not the very beginning

of the agitation on the subject of Slavery, I confess that I am not well informed. Of course I do not forget the trouble connected with the admission of our own State into the Union; but that had passed away a dozen of years before, leaving no dregs behind. I refer to that excitement which has distempered nearly the last thirty years of our history; and I say that the *first* disturbing movement in reference to Slavery was by *Southern* men, for the purpose—made abundantly obvious by subsequent events—of consolidating the slave States into a disunion phalanx, to be ready at the beck of their leaders, when "*the proper moment*" should arrive, to precipitate revolution, and bring into existence a Southern Confederacy. Let us look at those subsequent events.

The first opportunity, after 1833, for an active manifestation of Southern disunionism, was in 1844, in connection with the question of annexing Texas. You will remember that the South, with great unanimity, urged the annexation, while the North, to a large extent, was opposed to it. It was no secret that the course of the South was dictated by a desire to enlarge the area of slave territory and increase the number of slave States. The disunion tiger, that had apparently slept, roused himself, unfleshed his claws, and growled the old growl of nullification days. At Ashley, in South Carolina, a great meeting was held, in May, 1844, at which resolutions were adopted, proposing a convention, "to deliberate and decide upon the action to be taken by the slave States on the question of annexation; and to appoint delegates to *a*

convention of the slave States, with instructions to carry into effect THE BEHESTS OF THE PEOPLE." What those behests would be, was distinctly indicated in the two following resolutions, the third and fourth of the series:

3 "That a convention of the slave States, by delegations from each, should be called, to meet at some central position, to take into consideration the question of annexing Texas to the Union, *if the Union will accept it;* or, if the Union will not accept it, then of *annexing Texas to the Southern States.*

4. "That the President of the United States be requested by the general convention of the slave States, to call Congress together immediately; when *the final issue* shall be made up, and the alternative distinctly presented to the free States, *either to admit Texas into the Union, or to proceed peaceably and calmly to arrange the terms of a* DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION."

About the same time another large meeting was held at Beaufort, in the same State, which declared—"If we are not permitted to bring Texas into our Union peacefully and legitimately, as now we may, then we solemnly announce to the world that *we will dissolve this Union sooner than abandon Texas.*"

Another meeting in the Williamsburg district, in that State, declared—"We hold it to be *better and more to the interest* of the southern and southwestern portion of the Confederacy, *to be out of the Union with Texas, than in it without her.*"

These are but specimens of that out-spoken disunionism of South Carolinia in 1844; and they were

responded to, in like spirit, in other Southern States. These fresh manifestations of the old spirit fully justified the denunciation they received at the time from Colonel BENTON, in the Senate, in the following words, which it had been well if the people of the United States had heeded:

"And here, Mr. President, I must speak out. The time has come for those to speak out, who neither fear or count consequences when their country is in danger. Nullification and disunion are revived under circumstances which menace more danger than ever, since coupled with a peculiar question which gives to the plotters the honest sympathies of the patriotic millions. I have often intimated it before, but now proclaim it. Disunion is at the bottom of this long-concealed Texas machination. Intrigue and speculation co-operate; but disunion is at the bottom, and I denounce it to the American people. *Under the pretext of getting Texas into the Union, the scheme is to get the South out of it.*"

The next occasion when disunionism exhibited itself, was in the memorable conflict of 1850, over the question of Slavery in the Territories. It would be instructive to review that eventful struggle, terminating in the adoption of a series of compromise measures, which lulled the storm for a season; but time does not permit. It must answer for the present, to recall to your recollection the imminent danger which apparently then overhung the country. The South, as had been its custom, meanced disunion; the North and the West labored to avert it. The greatest statesmen of the

land exerted their influence to subdue the conflict. Once more peace was seemingly restored; not because Southern treason was any less living and resolute than before, but because "the proper moment" had not arrived. No opportunity had yet existed *for stealing the arms of the nation*, without which, rebellion would be hopeless. To obtain them, it was necessary for the South to regain the control of the Government. And so they were constrained to bide their time.

The election of General PIERCE to the Presidency, in 1852, placed the War Department under the control of Jefferson Davis for four years; and it was well understood that if FREMONT had been elected in 1856, the South would then have revolted. But his defeat deprived them of the requisite pretext; and the appointment of Floyd to succeed Davis in that Department, under the President who, elected by the votes of an almost unanimous South, had not the disposition, or lacked force of will, to control his traitorous plans and movements, afforded an opportunity too advantageous to be lost, of completing the preparations for the outbreak of the treason, which had so long been secretly undermining the foundations of the Union.

At last, "the proper moment" was seen by the conspirators to be at hand. Eight years' control of the army, the fortifications, and the arms of the nation, had given them all they desired. The South was armed, not only with the intent of treason, but with the weapons to give it effect. Only one thing was wanting, and that was the *occasion*. That came with the recurrence of

the Presidential election, in 1860. The election of a President by the Republican party was to be the signal for revolt. It was indispensable that that result should be secured beyond all peradventure. Should the Democratic party continue united, the Republican candidate might be defeated, and then the conspiracy would fail, for want of a sufficient pretext. So, early in 1860, throughout the cotton States, in connection with the appointment of delegates to the Democratic National Convention to be held at Charleston, in May, the plans were laid, which resulted in the disruption of that party, and made the election of the Republican candidate a foregone certainty. He was elected; and what followed we know but too well. The schemes of the traitors were at last near their fruition; the dark day for America had come; the star of her hope could hardly be seen in the blackness which settled down upon the land; and while the loyal part of the nation seemed to labor under a paralysis, the demons of treason, loosed from all restraint, burst upon the South, and, sweeping away constitutions and laws, and dashing down honor, justice, humanity, and truth, gave themselves up to a revelry of falsehood and robbery, treachery and destruction, which, it were hardly a hyperbole to say, the devils gazed at from their infernal abode with envy.

I trust, my friends, that the foregoing review of the leading points in the rise and progressive movements of Southern disunionism, through more than the life of a generation, to their issue in secession and civil war, may not have been without interest to you. My object in it, as you will have perceived, was to establish by

incontrovertible historical proofs, that Southern treason *ante-dates all the grievances urged in its justification*, and has only waited for a United South to execute its fell purpose. Let him who will, deliberately ignore the facts I have presented; but I will not stultify myself by shutting out from my knowledge, what history will be faithless if it do not record. No: it is already burnt into American annals too deep ever to be removed, that disunion has been a cardinal policy in the South, without intermission, for more than a third of a century; fostered, upheld, and urged on, year after year, with almost super-human constancy, by men who all the time were under oath to support the Constitution they were laboring to overthrow, and were bound by the holiest obligations to defend and protect the Country, whose ruin was the first and greatest object of their machinations!

But still the great question remains—*Whence the origin, what the life of the rebellion, which inaugurated the war now devastating the land?* In the Address which it was my privilege to deliver in this place, on the recent anniversary of Washington's birth, I did not hesitate to declare my conviction that SLAVERY was its one sole cause; and I have not one word to retract or modify, of what I then said. I believe it, and can not help believing it. And I desire now to state, more fully than I then could, the specific grounds of my conviction; confident that they will be deemed by you ample and conclusive.

When the people of a number of States are found united in principles, policy, and acts, the plainest sense

instantly looks for some influence common to them all. Signally is this true, when they so far renounce all the ties which from their birth have clustered around their hearts, as to combine in treason. Now, who can designate any influence in the insurgent States, other than Slavery, capable of producing such a result? It is the only one present in all—the only institution, domestic, social, or political, which could bind them all together in such a war as this. This single view is enough with me, and should be enough with every man whose mind is free to reach a right conclusion. But I do not rest merely upon this. The historical retrospect which has occupied our attention, is itself conclusive proof that, from the hour that nullification failed in South Carolina, the South has, *through Slavery*, been gradually but surely linked to the cause of disunion.

Recall the facts, and remark that in every instance after Mr. CALHOUN'S speech in February, 1833, the disunion agitations were directly connected with Slavery, and with nothing else. In 1844, disunion was threatened, unless the slave territory of Texas were added to the Union. In 1850, it was more alarmingly menaced, if Slavery were not permitted unrestricted access to the Territories. In 1856, it took the form of a widely-concerted plot to resist, with arms, the inauguration of FREMONT as President, solely on the pretense of danger to Slavery. In 1860, it broke out in actual rebellion, on the same pretense, because of the election of Mr. LINCOLN; and every defense of the rebellion, and every appeal to the South for co-operation in it, was based upon considerations appertaining to Slavery.

But not to confine ourselves to the course of events in the South, let us come nearer home, and look, for a moment, at the position taken in Missouri. You all remember that on the twelfth of January, 1861, while the secession tempest was sweeping over the South, a monster meeting was held in St. Louis, which was *called* a Union meeting. A number of resolutions were there adopted, some of which expressed Union sentiments. But there was one which betrayed the cloven foot of treason, and gave to that meeting the unenviable paternity of that double-faced mongrel, *Conditional Unionism;* through which a wound was inflicted upon the Union cause in this State, which has not to this day healed. The patriots of Missouri looked, and had a right to look to St. Louis, for the moral support of a clear and soul-stirring declaration of loyalty to the Constitution and the Union; but those who, in conclave, prepared the resolutions for that meeting—some of whom have since been and still are in arms against the Union—treated them to poorly-disguised secessionism, in the following declaration:

"That the possession of slave property is a constitutional right, and as such ought to be ever recognized by the Federal Government. *That if the Federal Government shall fail and refuse to secure this right, the Southern States should be found united in its defense*—IN WHICH EVENT MISSOURI WILL SHARE THE COMMON DUTIES AND COMMON DANGER OF THE SOUTH."

This declaration was, in effect, a direct committal of Missouri, so far as that meeting could commit her, to secession; and that upon the ground of a failure by the

general Government to secure to the people the constitutional right to hold slave property; a right which, those astute resolution-mongers in their eagerness forgot, depends not upon the Constitution of the United States, or the action of the Federal Government, but upon local constitutions or laws, and therefore neither needs, nor is entitled to demand, security from the Government of the nation.

Thus, you see, not only in the cotton States, but up in the latitude of Missouri, where cotton is *not* king, the disunionists had but one watchword, and that was SLAVERY. I could, if necessary, accumulate evidence before you till to-morrow's sunset, that Slavery has, from first to last, been the grand, sole key-note of the Southern traitors; but I must desist. There is, however, one document, which played so important a part in promoting secession, that I will crave your indulgence while I present a few lines from it. I allude to the "*Address of the people of South Carolina, assembled in Convention, December*, 1860, *to the people of the slaveholding States.*" Listen to the following words there found:

"*Citizens of the slaveholding States of the United States:* Circumstances beyond our control have placed us in the van of the great controversy between the Northern and Southern States. We would have preferred that other States should have assumed the position we now occupy. Independent ourselves, we disclaim any desire or design to lead the counsels of the other Southern States. Providence has cast our lot together, by extending over us an identity of pur-

suits, interests and institutions. South Carolina desires no destiny separate from yours. To be one of a GREAT SLAVEHOLDING CONFEDERACY, stretching its arms over a territory larger than any power in Europe possesses—with a population four times greater than that of the whole United States when they achieved their independence of the British empire—with productions which make our existence more important to the world than that of any other people who inhabit it—with common institutions to defend and common dangers to encounter—we ask your sympathy and confederation. * * * United together, and we must be the most independent, as we are the most important, among the nations of the world. United together, and *we require no other instrument to conquer peace than our beneficent productions.* United together, and we must be a great, free and prosperous people, whose renown must spread throughout the civilized world and pass down, we trust, to the remotest ages. WE ASK YOU TO JOIN US IN FORMING A CONFEDERACY OF SLAVEHOLDING STATES."

Now, my friends, I ask, in the sincerest candor, if any man who will allow himself dispassionate reflection upon the facts as they exist, can in his conscience say that any thing else than Slavery was the origin and cause of this rebellion? What I have presented is, as it were, but the title-page of the vast volume of similar matter, which the records and annals of our country contain; records and annals which, for the honor of America and of the human race should be wiped out of existence and erased from memory forever. They

present one of the most startling exhibitions of depraved public morality that can be found in history; not because the South loves its "peculiar labor, productions, and situation," but *because it exalts them above Constitution and Country!* Southern leaders, and a large part of the Southern people, have shown themselves willing and resolved to immolate all that makes them respected as Americans—the unity and combined power of America; and for what? Not, as they falsely affirm, to protect Slavery against the "northern Vandals," or, as they less classically term them, "the damned Yankees;" but that the aristocratic and overbearing spirit which Slavery engenders and stimulates, may have free scope, unchecked by that pestilent democratic element, which loves COUNTRY more than any material interest, and is too much of "mud-sill" nature to comprehend how or why, in a republic, an arrogant minority should lord it over an equally free and intelligent majority. Puffed up with the notion that, organized as a "slaveholding confederacy," they would be "*the most important among the nations of the world*," they are utterly reckless of the fact, that, to attain that end, they must sunder, with bloody and heartless violence, the nation through whose Union they and their "peculiar institutions" have been protected and developed. Apparently, as oblivious as the grave of the obligation of every people to live and act for the good of mankind as well as for their own, their every utterance breathes only of *self*, and their every blow is struck for their own inordinate aggrandisement. A vision of wealth to flow to them

from a tributary world, of power to be wielded by them over cringing nations, through their "beneficent productions," blinds them to the damnable wrong of despoiling their own nation of the very soil from which those productions are to spring; much the greater part of which the nation bought, and for a large portion of which the nation fought. In a word, "the divinity which stirs within them," impelling to treason, robbery, and blood, is that which neither Europe, Asia, or Africa worships, but which it was reserved for Americans to bow down to—the half-civilized NEGRO!

If any one within the sound of my voice supposes, from what I have now or heretofore said, that I am, or ever have been, in any degree imbued with bitterness toward Slavery as a domestic institution, he greatly wrongs me. Some years of my youth were spent in Kentucky, and nearly half of my life has been passed in this State. I have, therefore, long been familiar with Slavery in two of the border slave States. As a system of domestic servitude, while I believe it unprofitable there, my mind is free from any fanatical or intolerant bias against it. But when it is attempted to use it as a foundation for amassing political power—when those interested in the dollars it yields, evince that they love the negro more than their country, and, for the sake of the former, would dissever and degrade the latter—when the masters of the slaves demand, though a minority, to be also the masters of a nation of white men, and because the nation refuses, go about with fire and sword to destroy it; then I resist, and will resist to the last moment of my life, and with all the powers

which God may give me. In that case, what men may say of me, what proscription they may visit me with, what enmity they may exhibit, what denunciations they may hurl, are all matters of the most profound indifference to me. I will speak and act for my COUNTRY, as duty demands, with no more consciousness of those things, than the dead have of the storms that oversweep their graves.

Thus far, fellow-citizens, I have confined my remarks to the national aspects of our affairs. I should deem my obligations unfulfilled, were I to omit a distinct reference to the position and policy of Missouri in the present crisis. We belong to a State which, in the elements of material greatness, takes a front rank in our country. Some of us have lived here many years, some all their lives, and all of us are attached to our home. Through the criminal machinations of a traitorous Governor and Legislature, — now happily deposed from power by the people,—Missouri became a battle-field. She has been wasted by the tread of war, till over a large part of her surface devastation and misery prevail. Thousands of her people have endured untold sufferings, and her interests, in every department, have been grievously shattered. The impoverishment which inevitably follows civil war, has fallen crushingly upon her citizens. Her wealth is probably not one-half now, what it was considered to be eighteen months ago. In every light her condition is deplorable; and it was made so by the insane attempt, in the face of a clear impossibility, to precipitate her into the whirlpool of Southern treason.

To restore her to her former high estate must be the work of years, and be done by her own people. It is, therefore, our manifest duty to bring ourselves, with all our powers, to the earnest consideration of what will best achieve her restoration, and most conduce to the welfare, present and future, of ourselves and our children. On this subject, coming so directly home to every heart, I have a few sincere and plain words to leave with you.

In the first place, every man, woman, and child within our borders, might as well at once dismiss all thought of Missouri's ever becoming a part of the "Southern Confederacy," even if that death-stricken abortion should be resuscitated, and exist till the end of time. She has no interest in common with them, which should, or ever will, lead her "to share the common danger of the South." She is, in latitude, climate, and productions, a *northern* State, and were she this moment severed from the northern and united with the southern portion of the country, the severance would be so utterly unnatural, so completely ruinous to her, that her people would, by tens of thousands, desert her territory, and seek better homes within the Union; *and their places would never be filled from the South.* But besides this, Missouri lies directly in the path between the Atlantic and Pacific sections of the Union; and the national government would wage endless war,—and ought to do so,—rather than suffer her to become the possession of any foreign power. *Her destiny, therefore, is fixed, finally and irrevocably,* IN THE UNION.

Such being the case, how shall we best and soonest restore her, in the Union, to sound and stable prosperity? In my opinion, there is no serious difficulty in answering this question. As it has, for many years, been generally conceded by cool-headed and sagacious men, slaveholders among us, that Slavery is not essential to our prosperity, and, indeed, has but a limited field here in which it is profitable as a system of labor; as it is known to retard immigration to our State; as it is, beyond doubt, the origin and life of this horrible rebellion; as it is undeniably true, that, but for its existence among us, we should have been almost wholly exempt from the immediate presence of this war within our boundaries; and as, judging from the past and the present, it may be expected to be a fruitful source of trouble in the future; it appears to me, in the exercise of the best judgment I possess, that, *to provide, in some well-considered, equitable, and gradual way, for its eventual removal from our soil, would do more than all other things, to lift Missouri speedily out of her present unhappy condition, and start her forward in a fresh and higher career of prosperity.* As to when this subject should be brought before the people for practical discussion, or how the result should be effected, or when the process should begin, or when the day of final extinction should be fixed, I have nothing now to say. To express my opinion upon the main question, is enough for the present. This, however, should be said—that whenever presented to the popular mind, no fanatical, radical, or impetuous views should have influence; for it

is a subject which will tax the best and purest minds of our State to their utmost, to deal with it in wisdom and justice. Such views certainly have no influence upon me. I consider the question with reference solely to our *interest* as a people; having no opinions concerning it which I would force upon others, nor any intolerance toward those who may differ from me. Our fortunes are closely linked together, and, humanly speaking, our destiny must be carved out by ourselves. We should, therefore, in a fraternal spirit, consider what will bring the greatest amount of permanent benefit to all. For my part, I will be faithful in the calm pursuit of what may at any time seem to me for the highest good of our whole State; and, appealing to Heaven for the sincerity and purity of my motives, will cheerfully commit the issue to the hands of an all-wise and gracious PROVIDENCE.

THE REBELLION:

ITS CHARACTER, MOTIVE, AND AIM.*

With nations, as with individuals, there are turning-points, at which their destiny hangs upon present loyalty to honor, truth, and duty, and their prosperity, perhaps, their existence, depends upon the courage and fidelity of a single hour. In all the history of the world there can probably be found no more eminent illustration of this truth, than that which, eighty-six years ago, made the FOURTH OF JULY memorable for all after time. An infant NATION was then struggling into existence, and the great problem was, whether it should exist, or be strangled in its cradle. That question, so far as involved in the exercise of human will and human efforts, rested with fifty-six men, selected from three millions constituting the nation, and charged with the most momentous interests of humanity, in their own day and in the ages that were to come. Had they been faithless to their high trust, or too feeble in heart and hand for the new and perilous exigency, the infant nation would have been smothered at its birth, and you and I might this day have

* An Oration delivered at Washington, Missouri, July 4, 1862.

been subject to the British Crown. But in the hour of trial those patriot fathers were faithful and strong. They declared to the world that the Colonies they represented were, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; and through them the people of those States avowed themselves ONE PEOPLE, united in feeling and in fact forever. Thus was announced the UNION, which the people of the American Colonies, under the pressure of a common necessity, and the impulse of a common antagonism to regal oppression, had, nearly two years before, been compelled to form, but which was not authoritatively and irrevocably proclaimed until the 4th of July, 1776. As there had not been such a union recorded in history, so there could not be one more sincere, brave, and honest than that. It rested upon the clearest principles of right, demanded the most unselfish consecration to its maintenance, and was established upon the most earnest and unreserved pledges of devotion by the whole people to each other and to the whole cause that united them. Its formation was the first turning-point with this nation. The people who, disunited, were powerless, found in union strength to resist external attack, and the Nation lived.

He who has so inattentively read the history of his country, as to suppose that the Union of 1774 was formed by a people of identical interests, habits and feelings, should go back and read that history again, that he may better appreciate the nature and value of that Union, so little understood in this day by the mass of those who have all their lives enjoyed its

blessings. Of the many fundamental errors of the rebellion whose deadly footsteps have marked our land with blood through the dreary twelve month past, the most incomprehensible to me is, that diversity of interests, difference of domestic institutions, and discordance of feelings and habits, justify revolution, for the sake of social separation; an error as necessarily fatal to all social unity, as in the days of our fathers, it would have been an insuperable barrier to union, if they had entertained it. For there is nothing in our history more true, than that just such diversities existed then as now; but they were not counted as a feather's weight in the scale against the benefits which union offered, and which without union were impossible of attainment. And it was that very disregard of diversities of character, manners, and interests, in view of the magnificent rewards of a cordial union, which constituted one of THE UNION'S brightest glories. For freedom's sake, the struggling colonists reconciled every difference and yielded every conflict of interest; little dreaming that what they gladly offered as only too small a sacrifice for their country's life, would, in the third generation of their descendants, rise again to threaten that country with death.

Let us dwell for a moment upon that grand old assemblage of patriots, which presided over the infant nation from 1774 to 1781, and is known in our annals as the *Continental Congress;* for it is one of the sublime features of our country's history. It was a voluntary assemblage of delegates, fresh from a people whose hearts were united in the one great idea

and purpose of making America free. Each section there represented dearly loved its own peculiar institutions and interests, but, to their glory be it said, each loved American freedom more. The North said not to the South, "Do this, or we will depart;" nor did the South say to the North, as it has since, "Yield, or we will secede;" but North and South met, deliberated, and acted in equality and fraternity, for the sake of liberty. The Puritan and the Cavalier, the Catholic and the Huguenot, the Churchman and the Quaker, the Englishman, the Dutchman, and the Frenchman, the slaveholder and non-slaveholder, were there in strange and unexampled harmony; all past differences forgotten in the absorbing interest of the mighty present, and every heart full of the hopes which irradiated the future of the budding Republic. They came from the chilly regions of Memphremagog, from the temperate shores of Chesapeake, from Pamlico's odorous pineries, from Savannah's flowery banks; each with his votive offering for his COUNTRY, and that country not the poor strip of land inhabited by his colony, but the whole broad domain, which the energy, the bravery, and the perseverance of all, within their respective limits, had redeemed from barbarism, and consecrated to civilization and freedom. Plymouth Rock, Manhattan, James Town, Albemarle, and Port Royal met in the City of Brotherly Love, and athwart the clouded sky Freedom's bow of promise spanned the front of the continent, the type in his faultless proportions and its distinct but commingled hues, of that UNION of many in one, into which then and there

the God of Nations breathed the breath of a new and endless life. Think you that in that assembly jealousies, prejudices, antagonisms, and jarring interests could have had no place? As well expect men in this fallen world to be angels, or human nature to be divine this side of heaven. No: the very same discordant elements were present at the birth of the nation as now would administer at its death: but they shrank away before the blaze of patriotism which glorified the land, as the withered grass of our prairies before the fire's devouring march. The fathers of the Republic had no heart for such low and sordid schemes of selfishness and ambition, as have made Absaloms of their sons and Jezebels of their daughters in these evil days. Forget not that glorious band of heroes; for, under God, we owe our existence as a nation to their courage, wisdom, and unselfish fidelity.

Look around us now, and see the Nation at the second turning-point in its history. Again its life is at stake! Suffer not the mind to be diverted from this the great, the only issue of the bloody conflict of this day. The nation will come out of it alive or dead —one or the other—nothing less, nothing else. If its integrity be maintained, it will live; if rebellion triumph, it dies as a nation, though its dissevered fragments should survive in separate existence. It began in unity, in unity it has lived, and without unity it has no present life nor hope of future being. If one branch may be dismembered to-day, another may to-morrow, and another again the next day, and so, from time to time, its parts may, one by one, fall away, till,

when the Centenary of Independence dawns upon the earth, men will look in vain among the nations for the United States of America. The continent will be here, but where the NATION? The old flag may still float over some part of it, but with how many stars in its azure field? People may be here, but what people? Will they be free? No human being can say! Will they be citizens of a republic, even in name? God only knows! The future is impenetrable; but all history is without instruction, if it teach not that national decay unerringly waits upon national disintegration, and that national disintegration proceeding from *internal* causes, is national death. WE STAND THIS HOUR FACE TO FACE WITH THE ISSUE OF LIFE OR DEATH TO AMERICA! The fate, not of an individual, a family, or a community, but of a NATION, is this day in the hands of loyal Americans. It is an awful—I had almost said, a horrible responsibility. None such ever rested upon any other people; for never was committed to another nation so great and precious a charge for the good of the human race. May the Almighty Ruler of heaven and earth give the nation heart and arm to bear it safe through this its second ordeal of fire!

My friends, think it not strange that this convulsion shakes the nation. Our government, though popular in its origin and form, and incomparably the most carefully-guarded and beneficent the world has ever seen, could not expect to be the only one in history to escape rebellion. Unspeakably causeless and wicked as this rebellion is, in origin, motive, purpose, and acts, its breaking out has only fulfilled the law which, sooner

or later, tests the ability of all human institutions to resist the evil passions of men. If any government might hope to be spared that test, surely ours might; but the trial, it appears, was ordained for it, as for every other. There is, however, a world-wide difference between this rebellion and any which the history of the Old World records. There, no instance, I believe, can be found of popular uprising in arms against government, except for oppression, real or supposed; here, there is not even a decent pretense, much less the actual fact of oppression. There, rebellion has aimed to overthrow a monarch or a ruling aristocracy; here, there is no monarch to depose, and it is the aristocracy revolting against the people; and hence, in part, the trans-Atlantic sympathy of royalty and the nobility with the South. There, the people sought to throw off governments in whose establishment they had no voice; here, the rebels strike at the government themselves voluntarily established. There, rebelling nations demanded written Constitutions to protect them against arbitrary rule; here, the insurgents aim to destroy the first written Constitution ever adopted, and which, from the day of its adoption to this the world has admired and venerated as the grandest of human conceptions in government. Behold, then, the immeasurable difference in the eyes of God and men, between the popular rebellions of the Old World and the aristocratic rebellion of the South; between the Revolution of '76 and the revolt of 1861! I can appreciate the former, for there is in them a manifest and a just cause; I can sympathize with a people aspiring to,

and fitted for, freedom, for they have a right to be free; I can cheer on the struggles of an oppressed nation against their oppressors; I can understand that a people might be so situated as to justify them in dethroning a monarch, though not an oppressor, where they deemed it best to take the powers of government into their own hands; I can even see how a people might, under a government of their own creation, take up arms to hurl from place their own public servants, wielding power to their intolerable injury, when the means and opportunity for lawful redress could not be reached before irremediable wrongs might be perpetrated; but for a portion of a free, intelligent, and educated nation, living under a government whose form and spirit emanated from themselves, which had never inflicted on them one single wrong, and in the control of which they enjoyed just the constitutional measure of power, which, by their own most free and most solemn covenant, they agreed to, and a far greater weight of actual influence than that measure of power justified—for them to kindle the flames of civil war, and become murderers of their own kindred and destroyers of their own Constitution, merely to satisfy a lawless craving for a separate nationality, is a manifestation of folly and crime having no approach to a parallel in history, and capable of no explanation but that which brands its authors as the most atrocious of parricides, and consigns them to the lowest depths of infamy.

Were this rebellion a sudden outbreak of overwrought, though unprovoked and unjustifiable, passion, we might be disposed to abate somewhat in its denunciation.

Every man knows enough of his own frailties to make him merciful to the frailties of others. Every system of laws distinguishes between the premeditated willful act, and the act that proceeds from an onset of suddenly excited feeling. But this rebellion can lay no claim to have sprung from the latter source; though it is doubtless true that tens of thousands of its armed defenders have acted under a blind impulse, produced by the torrent of devilish falsehoods with which their reason and patriotism have been overwhelmed. With the leaders, however, it has been a matter of cool, deliberate calculation, and steady, persistent effort, for more than thirty years. Children have been born into it, and educated for it. The plan and the intent have been transmitted from father to son, from mother to daughter, and nursed between brother and sister, and mingled with the friendships and loves of a whole section of the country, during all that long period of preparation for the day, always expected and always kept in view, when the causeless and brutal assault of Americans upon their country should be made. When, in the hour that the rebellion took shape and life in the South Carolina Convention, one of the traitors there proclaimed, "*The secession of South Carolina is not an event of a day—it has been gathering head for thirty years;*" and another, doubtless more exact as to time, cried, "*We have now accomplished the work after* FORTY *years;*" and another, ambitious to signalize his devotion to treason, boasted, "*I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political life;*" and another, unwilling that the iniquity of one should

assume pre-eminence, declared, "*Most of us have had this matter under consideration for the last twenty years;*" and another exultingly exclaimed, "*At last it has come to that point when we may say the matter is entirely right;*" they, with inexplicable insanity, *advertised the age and growth* of their diabolical conspiracy, and silenced forever the least plea of mercy for the sudden spring of an overpowering excitement. To such as they mercy were a crime—swift, stern, relentless vengeance the highest virtue.

When a people assume to set on foot an armed revolution, involving, as it always does, not only the possible overthrow of an established government, but a frightful sacrifice of life, an incalculable destruction of property, a dreadful accumulation of enduring animosities, a wide-spread demoralization, and a grievous debasement of religious sentiment, the intellect and the conscience of all men demand that two things should plainly appear to justify the act; *first*, that the attempted revolution rests upon some acknowledged principle of right; and *second*, that there is manifest cause for asserting that principle *by arms*. If no such principle be involved, or if it could be successfully asserted by peaceful and lawful means, the movement is only one of savage and satanic passion, which the whole human race is profoundly interested in crushing down, just as each community is interested in imprisoning or destroying the incendiary, the robber, and the assassin. Our fathers felt the necessity of justifying their revolt before mankind, and they did it by asserting great principles, and exhibiting the violations of those principles,

unredressed and incapable of redress by peaceful means, which impelled them to arms. If they so felt, when revolting against a kingly sway, wielded tyrannically by a distant monarch, whose dominion over them was not of their choice, much more should such a justification be rigidly demanded of republican citizens, who take up arms to throw off a government which sprung from themselves, and whose principles and attributes they had declared and bestowed.

In their irreverent ambition to liken their unprincipled revolt to the Revolutionary struggle of their fathers, the rebel leaders attempt to meet this just demand, in part, by an incessant reiteration of *the right of the South to freedom and self-government;* and they have so adroitly and boldly rung this in the ears of the people, that thousands have yielded to the cruel deception, and followed the standard of rebellion to an untimely and dishonored grave. My countrymen, need I say to you that this is but the audacious resort of lying and desperate traitors, to obtain and hold ascendancy over the unenlightened masses, from which the armies of the rebellion are to be recruited? When WILLIAM W. BOYCE, Representative from South Carolina in the rebel Congress, proclaimed there, "*Audacity! audacity! audacity! is the key to success*," he fitly characterized the whole spirit and action of the South, from the beginning of secession—and indeed long before—up to this hour. At every step, they have exhibited an unequaled audacity in trampling upon honor and truth, religion and morality, virtue and patriotism; and in few things has this spirit been more shamelessly displayed,

than in this clamor for freedom and self-government. When, pray, did the citizens of the South cease to be free? and when was their freedom assailed from any quarter? Name the time and place. When did the general Government ever restrain men in the South of their freedom? I was about to say, never; but I do recall one occasion, memorable and well remembered, when the freedom of the South Carolina Chivalry was promptly and most effectively restrained by an old hero named ANDREW JACKSON, whom they have probably not forgotten to this day: but it was upon the freedom they arrogantly claimed to nullify the laws and defy the power of the nation, that he set his foot and crushed it to death. The freedom now exacted is akin to that, but more lawless and ferocious,—freedom to overturn the Constitution, to tear down and tear in pieces the national Flag, and to plunder the nation of its arms, munitions of war, ships, forts, and money, and with them wage war against it, for the establishment upon its own domain of a foreign and hostile power. This is the freedom which the South demands now, and in which "*all they ask is to be let alone*"—the freedom of organized FILIBUSTERING against their own Government and people, on a scale so gigantic, that, in comparison, ten thousand "John Brown raids" were a harmless pastime. And it is upon that kind of freedom that this great nation of freedom-loving Americans marches this day; and they will tread it down and make an end of it for ever and ever.

And when, pray, has the South been deprived of the right or the exercise of self-government? Who has

governed them, if not themselves? Who but they formed the Constitutions of their States, or brought them into the Union under the Constitution of the United States? What power has governed them in any form, without their own direct authority, freely given? My friends, you and I know — there is not a white man in the nation so ignorant of the nature of our institutions as not to know — that we have no government in this country but that which proceeds from the people themselves; that, in fact, there is not in the wide world a people holding the reins of government in their own hands so completely as do the American people in all their parts. What, then, mean this impudent cry about the right of self-government? It has but one meaning and object—to ensnare the unthinking and unwary, by deluding them into the belief that that cherished right is in danger. It is a shallow and contemptible device, but unfortunately it has lured thousands into the toils of treason, and therefore only is it worthy of notice. When the inhabitants of a defined portion of the land establish a State Constitution, they exercise the right of self-government as to their State; and when the nation adopts the national Constitution, it exercises the right of self-government as to national affairs; and in both instances the people have always acted with the most untrammeled freedom. And when a Constitution, either State or national, is once adopted, it is forever binding, until lawfully abrogated by the people that made it. For a part of the people to attempt its abrogation by violence, is not self-government, but revolution; for

the minority to revolt against the lawfully-expressed will of the majority, is not self-government, but rebellion; and in either case, law and order, justice and right, are instantly overwhelmed in anarchy. It is just this that brought upon our happy country the wild horrors of civil war. With the Southern aristocrats, not to govern the nation is to be deprived of the right of self-government—not to rule the whole, is to lose their natural prerogative! It is their crime, that, while they have with the most comprehensive liberty exercised self-government in affairs of state, they have utterly renounced self-government over their own proud and ferocious passions. In every possible way they have exhibited a rapacity for power, which defies alike the restraints of Constitutions and of conscience, and sets their lordly will above all laws, divine or human. They have yet to learn through the bloody teachings of the war themselves began, that the very first principle of popular government is, that the majority, whether "mud-sill" or aristocratic, rules, and that they who refuse to bow to that principle will be broken into submission to it.

Had the Government, or the people of the North, committed aggressions upon the rights of the South, and the South had in a fever of resentment appealed to arms, there would be some show of palliation for their crime, but not the least justification; *for the constitutional remedy of the ballot-box was open to their appeal.* But I have shown out of their own mouths that it was no fever fit that was on them, but an old inflammation, which they were nursing to a head for

thirty or forty years; all the while mouthing great words about Northern aggressions, and all the time knowing that those words were but a cheat and a delusion, to inflame their own people, and hide from the world the inconceivable crime that was in preparation. To say that any of their constitutional rights had been abridged in one single jot or tittle, is simply to assert a naked and shameless falsehood. Let him who makes the charge point to the time when and the way in which it was done, if he can. If, in matters of policy, they complain of the tariff, I say that the legislative history of the country for forty years proves that the tariff has been shaped and reshaped, unshaped and misshaped, from time to time, just as the South itself demanded. If they talk about fugitive slaves, the fact is known to every intelligent man that the Fugitive Slave Act of Congress was drawn up by themselves, and passed with the help of Northern votes. If they say that the North excluded Slavery from the Territories, the answer is, that no law of that description was in existence when the rebellion broke out, and the Supreme Court of the United States had declared such a law unconstitutional. If they turn to the election of a President by the votes of the free States alone, they stand denounced as double traitors, to their party and their country; for they broke up their party to clear the way with absolute certainty for that result, with the sole purpose of using it as an excuse for, and an incitement to, secession. If they professed to fear aggressions from the President so elected, or his party, they knew the profession was utterly false,

for they and their friends were a majority in Congress, and might have kept him and his party in effectual check. If they express apprehension for the continuance of Slavery in their States, because Mr. LINCOLN, in a speech made in 1858, when he was not thought of for the Presidency, said, "I believe this Government can not endure permanently, half slave and half free," and because Mr. SEWARD made his famous "irrepressible conflict" speech, the answer is fourfold: *first,* that the party which elected Mr. LINCOLN, did, in their party platform, explicitly affirm "THE RIGHT OF EACH STATE TO ORDER AND CONTROL ITS OWN DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS ACCORDING TO ITS OWN JUDGMENT EXCLUSIVELY;" *second,* that the last Congress, when the secession of seven States had left a Republican majority in both Houses, did, by a two-thirds vote in both, pass an amendment to the Constitution, declaring that "NO AMENDMENT SHOULD BE MADE TO THE CONSTITUTION WHICH WILL AUTHORIZE OR GIVE TO CONGRESS THE POWER TO ABOLISH OR INTERFERE, WITHIN ANY STATE, WITH THE DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS THEREOF, INCLUDING THAT OF PERSONS HELD TO LABOR OR SERVICE BY THE LAWS OF SAID STATE;" *third,* that the rebel Commissioners, sent over the sea to solicit European recognition of the rebel government, did, in a letter on that subject to Earl RUSSELL, in August, 1861, declare, "IT WAS FROM NO FEAR THAT THE SLAVES WOULD BE LIBERATED THAT SECESSION TOOK PLACE;" and *fourth,* that the proof is overwhelming, that the South, while professing rampant indignation at those words of Mr. LINCOLN and Mr. SEWARD, was everywhere plot-

ting, contriving, and laboring, with exhaustless ingenuity and perseverance, to foster and intensify the "irrepressible conflict," and hurry the nation into that other and far more terrible conflict in which it is now involved. If they point to the Personal Liberty laws of four Northern States, the reply is, that, wrong in spirit and pernicious in effect as those laws undoubtedly were, still if not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, those States had a constitutional right to pass them, however reprehensible the exercise of that right; but if they were repugnant to that Constitution, they were utterly void. In either case they damaged no rights of the South; or, if they did, the South had a constitutional redress; and had no more right for that cause to snap the ties of the Union, than I would have to throw society into warring chaos, because a robber plundered me, or a ruffian aimed a deadly blow at my life.

But, some one may say—"What about *the Abolitionists?* Have they not for thirty years denounced Slavery, and vilified the South, and preached up that the Constitution is a covenant with hell, because it prevents the abolition of Slavery in the States by Congress, and said ten thousand other things to exasperate the South? and shall the South stand all that?" Well, my friend, restrain your indignation for a moment, and let us take a calm view of this matter. I will not discuss with you whether the words and acts of the Abolitionists have been good or bad, wise or foolish, just or unjust; but, assuming them to be as bad, and foolish, and unjust as you could possibly

regard them, I utterly deny that they constitute a justification, or even an apology for this heinous rebellion. You might as well say, that because your brother talks hard words at you for owning a negro, you are justified in burning down your father's house, in which you both live. The two cases are identical in principle; and if you could not justify such a crime as that, by such a provocation, you can not justify or defend Southern treason by the fanatical talk of the Abolitionists; and they were powerless for anything but talk. I pray you beware of that specious and insidious appeal to your passions; beware of whatever tends to warp or cloud your judgment; and especially beware of him, whoever he may be, that, in discussing the inconceivably momentous questions of the day, urges upon you that Abolition speeches and publications were *the cause* of our national troubles. No man takes that chute who is not at heart disloyal, or bidding for disloyal votes, or both. Why, what is it, when you sift it down and gather its true character, but an attempt to defend and justify the crime of rebellion, by the mere *words* of fanatics? *Set him down as traitorous in heart who does that thing*, and shake him off as Paul the Apostle, at Melita, shook off into the fire the viper that had fastened on his hand.

If, then, this rebellion is not of recent origin, but dates far back; nor the offspring of sudden excitement, but of long continued and careful preparation; and if it has no defense or palliation in the matters to which I have referred; every thinking man finds his

mind instinctively drawn to the investigation of its CAUSE. If you see a man who does not wish to know the cause, he is one that fears to know it, lest it be found in something "peculiar," in which he has a warmer interest than in his country. For my part, I desire to know the cause, and to know it *now*, while this rebellious war is in hand, not after it is over, when nobody will care to investigate it; and I have deemed it my duty, even while the roar of battle sounds through the land, to discuss that question, and to speak before the people my views of the cause of a revolt, which has no type but that in which the rebel angels

> "With ambitious aim,
> Against the throne and monarchy of God
> Raised impious war in heaven."

I have not hesitated to declare publicly on former occasions, nor do I shrink from reiterating here to-day, with a clear perception of the position I occupy before you, my solemn and immovable conviction, that this rebellion came from one cause, and no other—SLAVERY, *and the aristocratic, exclusive, and overbearing spirit which springs from it.* On the 7th of April last, at your county seat, I appealed to history to establish this point, and I need not now repeat the historical proofs then presented, and which stand, undisputed in their conclusiveness. It is sufficient at this time to recapitulate the general considerations which lead the mind to this conclusion.

When I look abroad over the land, and find that where Slavery is, there is disloyalty and treason, and

where Slavery is not, the whole body of the people, with hardly an exception, are true to the Constitution; when I see that exactly in proportion to the intensity of devotion in any State to Slavery, is the intensity of hostility to the Union; when I find that nowhere, except in the slave States, is the right of secession claimed; that thence only, during the whole existence of the Union, have threats of its dissolution proceeded; that such threats have uniformly, for the past thirty years, been connected with contests about Slavery; that only there have traces of treasonable conspiracy been discovered; that only by Southern hands has the flag of the Union been assailed and humiliated; and that every defense of the rebellion and every appeal in its favor is based on Slavery interests alone; I should regard myself as incapable of reasoning from effects to cause, if I did not see in Slavery the only institution and influence which could possibly so shape the character, mould the opinions, inflame the passions, and dictate the policy of five millions of American citizens. And when I look further, and find that in every part of the land, and, indeed, of the whole world, disloyalty to the Union is the prevailing characteristic of Southern-bred men and women; and that as soon as secession began its traitorous course, multitudes of officers of our army and navy from slave States—as well those that had not seceded as those that had—treacherously deserted the service of their country, and impiously rushed to arms against her, in favor of a mere buccaniering usurpation, having—as we shall presently see—but

one great object, "*the formation of a* SLAVE REPUBLIC;" I can not shut my eyes to the existence in Slavery of a poisonous influence, as potent over its subjects as it is fatal to the republican principles and institutions which constitute America's best and and brightest inheritance. And when I ask myself, *would this rebellion have existed if there had been no Slavery among us?* and judgment and conscience both answer, NEVER! I am forced, whether I will or no, to lay at the door of that institution the mountain load of the iniquity of Southern treason, in the assured conviction that the sentence placing it there will stand affirmed by the world's opinion, and approved at the bar of God.

I have endeavored to make apparent to you that this rebellion bears no resemblance to the popular uprisings in Europe against oppression, or to the Revolution of our fathers; that it is no sudden outburst of passion, but a conspiracy which for age, deliberation, audacity, and treachery will stand forever without a rival; that it rests upon no principle by which it can be justified; that there was no provocation by which it can be palliated, or to which even it can be traced; that, in one word, it was, in any and every just view, absolutely causeless, and therefore inconceivably atrocious. If these views be correct, of which I have not the least doubt, nor ever expect to have, it is a point of exceeding interest to know the *why* of such an unheard of popular outbreak. The mind can not conceive of its existence without a motive and a purpose, any more than it can of the fall of a tree without gravitation.

As the causes assigned in their authentic publications, so far as they have made any, have been shown a thousand times to be frivolous and base; as they know, as well as they know their own existence, that they never suffered willful wrong at the hands of the people of the North: as they do not, with all their audacity, pretend to charge the general Government with wronging them; and as all men know that the slave States have, with scarcely an intermission, controlled that Government from its formation to the present time; there must be somewhere a hidden spring, a subtle power, not comprehended by the world, but constituting the driving force of the whole wild movement. Had they boldly and frankly avowed themselves rebels, for assigned causes and with a definite and declared aim, we should have understood the motive, and known that when they were subdued, or the causes removed, or the aim accomplished, the rebellion would end, and peace return. But they deny being rebels, and brazenly affirm that secession is not rebellion, but simply the exercise of *a right*, which each State reserved to itself—mentally reserved, of course, for it is nowhere written down—to secede, that is, to walk out, back out, kick out, or fight out of the Union, at its own mere will and pleasure; and that it is an outrageous invasion of their right of freedom and self-government, to attempt to hold them to their constitutional obligations; and a piece of presumptuous insolence to question the supreme right of South Carolina, with a patch of land half as big as Missouri, inhabited by 400,000 "niggers" and 300,000 whites, to declare, as she did, that she

"had resumed her position among the nations of the world, as a separate and independent State!" a position she never for one moment had, and therefore could not *resume*, and which, if she had had, she never could have maintained for a single year. It is by such pretentious and high-sounding snobbishness in State affairs, that secession is sought to be lifted out of the mire of unmitigated crime, and dignified with the white robe of an immaculate right! But I can not pause to expose the senseless folly and shapeless deformity of this miserable heresy. The question for solution is, What is the *motive* of secession? Why should South Carolina, or any other State, desire a separate and independent position among the nations of the world? As it can not be successfully denied that Slavery is the one sole cause of secession, it must needs be that the motive springs from the same source; and it is found, not in wrongs, actual or apprehended, not in fears, real or feigned, not in injustice suffered or justice denied, but in *the social separation of an aristocratic from a democratic people—the supercilious exclusion of a people among whom labor is honorable and universal, from social equality and contact with a people among whom labor belongs to a subject and menial race—the haughty withdrawal of "the peculiar institution" to itself, that it may be "let alone" to erect upon the ravished domain of the Union, and that afterwards added by forced purchase or marauding conquest,* A GIGANTIC EMPIRE OF SLAVERY.

I ask you not to accept this as *my* view of the motive of secession. Plainly inferable as it is from

facts with which you are all familiar, it need not rest upon inference merely. It was published in the words of one of their own leaders, in February, 1861, just after the seven States which led off in secession had banded together under the Provisional Constitution of the Southern Confederacy. In that Constitution was a provision prohibiting "the importation of African negroes from any foreign country other than the slave-holding States of the United States;" concerning which Mr. L. W. SPRATT, of Charleston, addressed an elaborate and ably written letter to a member of the rebel Congress, designed to produce the abandonment of that prohibition, and the re-opening of African slave trade. Mr. SPRATT was a member of the South Carolina Convention, and was by that body deputed as one of its Commissioners to visit the Convention of Florida, to induce it to follow South Carolina's treasonable lead. His words, therefore, are entitled to be regarded as authoritative, when he assumes to expound the purport and motives of the revolt in which he acted so prominent a part. I beg your earnest and candid attention to every word of that portion of his letter, which I now present, as follows:

"The South is now in the formation of a *Slave* Republic. This, perhaps, is not admitted generally. There are many contented to believe that the South as a geographical section is in mere assertion of its independence; that it is instinct with no special truth—pregnant of no distinct social nature; that for some unaccountable reason the two sections have become opposed to each other; that, for reasons equally insufficient, there is a disagreement between the peoples that

direct them; and that from no overruling necessity, no impossibility of co-existence, but as a mere matter of policy, it has been considered best for the South to strike out for herself, and establish an independence of her own. This, I fear, is an inadequate conception of the controversy.

"The contest is not between the North and South as geographical sections, for between such sections merely there can be no contest; nor between the people of the North and the people of the South, for our relations have been pleasant, and on neutral grounds there is still nothing to estrange us. We eat together, trade together, and practice yet, in intercourse, with great respect, the courtesies of common life. But the real contest is between *the two forms of society* which have become established, the one at the North and the other at the South. * * * * The one is a society composed of one race, the other of two races. The one is bound together but by the two great social relations of husband and wife and parent and child; the other by the three relations of husband and wife, and parent and child, and master and slave. The one embodies in its political structure the principal that equality is the right of man; the other that it is the right of equals only. The one embodying the principle that equality is the right of man, expands upon the horizontal plane of pure democracy; the other, embodying the principle that it is not the right of man, but of equals only, has taken to itself *the rounded form of a social aristocracy.* In the one there is hireling labor, in the other slave labor; in the one, therefore, in theory at least, labor is voluntary, in the other involuntary; in the labor of the one there is the elective franchise, in the other there is not; and, as labor is always in excess of direction, in the one the power of the Government is only with the lower classes; in the other with the upper. In the one therefore, the

reins of the Government come from the heels, in the other from the head of the society; in the one it is guided by the worst, in the other by the best intelligence; in the one it is from those that have the least, in the other from those who have the greatest stake in the continuance of existing order. In the one the pauper laborer has the power to rise and appropriate by law the goods protected by the State—when pressure comes, as come it must, there will be the motive to exert it—and thus the ship of State turns bottom upwards. In the other there is no pauper labor with power of rising; the ship of State has the ballast of a disfranchised class; there is no possibility of political upheaval, therefore, and it is reasonably certain that, so steadied, it will sail erect and onward to an indefinitely distant period.

"Such are the two forms of society which had come to contest within the structure of the recent Union. And the contest for existence was inevitable. Neither could concur in the requisitions of the other; neither could expand within the forms of a single government without encroachment on the other. * * * * The principle that races are unequal, and that among unequals inequality is right, would have been destructive to the form of pure democracy at the North. The principle that all men are equal and equality right, would have been destructive of Slavery at the South. Each required the element suited to its social nature. The natural expansion of the one must become encroachment on the other, and so the contest was inevitable. Seward and Lincoln, in theory at least, whatever be their aim, are right. *I realized the fact and so declared the conflict irrepressible, years before either ventured to advance that proposition. Upon that declaration I have always acted, and the recent experience of my country has not induced me to question the correctness of that first conception.*

"Such, then, being the nature of the contest, *this Union has been disrupted in the effort of slave society to emancipate itself;* and the momentous question now to be determined is, shall that effort be successful? That the Republic of the South shall sustain her independence, there is little question. The form of our society is too pregnant of intellectual resources and military strength to be subdued, if, in its products, it did not hold the bonds of amity and peace upon all the leading nations of the world. But in the independence of the South is there surely the emancipation of domestic Slavery? That is greatly to be doubted. Our property in slaves will be established. But will it be established as a normal institution of society, and stand the sole exclusive social system of the South? That is the impending question, and the fact is yet to be recorded. That it will so stand somewhere at the South, I do not entertain the slightest question. It may be overlooked or disregarded now. IT HAS BEEN THE VITAL AGENT OF THIS GREAT CONTROVERSY. *It has energized the arm of every man who acts a part in this great drama.* We may shrink from recognition of the fact; we may decline to admit the source of our authority, refuse to Slavery an invitation to the table which she herself has so bountifully spread; but not for that will it remain powerless or unhonored.

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"Slavery within the seceding States at least is now emancipated, if men put forward as its agents have intrepidity to realize the fact and act upon it. It is free to choose its constitution and its policy, and you and others are now elected to the high office of that determination. If you shall elect Slavery, avow it and affirm it; not as an existing fact, but as a principle of social order, and assert its right, not to toleration only, *but to extension and to political recognition among the nations of the earth.* If, in short, you shall own Sla-

very as the source of your authority, and act for it, and erect, as you are commissioned to erect, not only a Southern, but A SLAVE REPUBLIC, the work will be accomplished. Those States intending to espouse and perpetuate the institution will enter your Confederacy; those that do not, will not. Your Republic will not require the pruning process of another revolution; but, poised upon its institutions, will move on to a career of greatness and of glory unapproached by any other nation in the world.

"But if you shall not; if you shall commence by ignoring Slavery, or shall be content to edge it on by indirection; if you shall exhibit care but for a republic, respect but for a democracy; if you shall stipulate for the toleration of Slavery as an existing evil, by admitting assumptions to its prejudice and restrictions to its power and progress, you re-inaugurate the blunder of 1789; you will combine States, whether true or not, to Slavery; you will have no tests of faith; some will find it to their interest to abandon it; slave labor will be fettered; hireling labor will be free; your Confederacy is again divided into antagonistic societies; the irrepressible conflict is again commenced; and as Slavery can sustain the structure of a stable government, and will sustain such structure, and as it will sustain no structure but its own, another revolution comes—but whether in the order and propriety of this, is gravely to be doubted.

"Is it, then, in the just performance of your office, that you would impose a constitutional restriction against the foreign slave trade? Will you affirm Slavery by reprobating the means of its formation? Will you extend Slavery by introducing the means of its extinction? * * * * Will you do this, and yet say that you elect Slavery and affirm it, and, in your ministrations at its altar, own it as the true and only source of your authority?"

Every word full of meaning—every word a text—every word an exposition of the heart and mind of secession—every word a proof that Slavery is the whole life, soul, breath, and strength of this hideous rebellion! Let us recapitulate its points. Slavery "has been the vital agent of this great controversy." Slavery "has energized the arm of every man who acts a part in this great drama." Slavery is "the true and only source of their authority. Slavery "bountifully spreads their table." Slavery furnishes "the ship of State with the ballast of a disfranchised class, with which it will sail erect and onward to an indefinitely distant period." Slavery "is a living principle of social order." Slavery gives "the rounded form of a social aristocracy." Slavery rejects a democracy, where "the reins of government come from the heels." Slavery recoils from a society "in the labor of which there is the elective franchise." Slavery announces association with a people among whom "the power of the government is only with the lower classes." Slavery must "be established as a normal institution of society, and stand the sole exclusive social system of the South." "*This Union has been disrupted in the effort of slave society to emancipate itself*" from that Northern society which "expands upon the horizontal plane of pure democracy." Slavery "asserts its right, not to toleration only, but to *extension and political recognition among the nations of the earth.*" And Slavery commissions the South, and the South accepts the commission, "*to erect not only a Southern, but a* SLAVE REPUBLIC," upon territory wrenched by bloody

violence from the nation, of which, for nearly a hundred years, Slavery has been the spoiled and petted child!

My countrymen, to use no exaggerated terms, I am filled with amazement at this picture which Slavery paints of itself. I know not how to characterize, what to call it, for it is like nothing which the dark history of the human race had before disclosed. Without one ray of light from the warm affections or the generous impulses, it is all cold and proud and heartless. Not one word breathes magnanimity, not one touches a gentle sympathy; every one appeals to pride, to selfishness, to that "covetousness which is idolatry," to those impulses which, uncontrolled, make men pirates and murderers. No thought of country finds expression there; no kind inquiry for the nation's good; no backward glance of gratitude to the patriot sires who made us a nation and gave us a country; but a contemptuous slur at the "blunder of 1789," which "tolerated Slavery as an existing evil," instead of "espousing and perpetuating it as a living principle of social order." No recognition of kinship with the democracy of North appears; no admission of ties of affinity; no remembrance of the Northern homes from which they had gathered so many fair flowers to adorn "the rounded form of their social aristocracy;" no memory of friendships there, which threw open Northern mansions to them with more than Southern hospitality; no thought of the great army of Northern citizens, that through long years had battled at the ballot-box for the South: all, all forgotten,

in the demoniac eagerness to kindle the fires which, encircling the foundations of the Union, and wrapping the pillars of the Constitution, should burn into ashes one-half of the mighty fabric of America's free institutions, and leave upon Southern soil only a blood-stained Empire of Slavery!

My friends, let us further unfold the character of this fiendish attempt at the destruction of America. Here was a nation bound together by ties such as never united any other thirty-one millions of people on earth. Less than a century ago—only yesterday in the life of a nation—the three millions, from whom came the thirty-one millions, stood up before the world, and, in the presence of kingdoms, potentates, and powers, declared—*we are united, we are* ONE! God gave them a continent for their habitation, and commissioned them there, far from the contact and influence of despotisms, to work out the great unsolved problem of man's capacity for self-government. From His hand they received the boon of their freedom, and to Him they reverently held themselves bound to render account of their great trust. Through their early struggles they invoked His holy name, and His mighty arm was with them until they achieved the Independence to which they had pledged themselves and their all. Their appeal and their vows rang through the nations, startling the spirit of freedom, and arousing oppressed peoples to follow their sublime lead. They became free, more free than any other nation, free from foreign domination, free to form their own political and social institutions, free to shape

their own destiny, for glory or for shame. Enfranchised America sprang at once to a position of greatness among the powers of the earth. The winged messengers of a young and vigorous commerce flew from her shores to every land, awakening the drowsy nations, and returning with the rich rewards of unshackled industry and enterprise. The flag of the new Republic floated on every sea, and with it went the wondrous tale of a young nation with *no king*, a country with *no lords*, that was rising to the world's view, and leading in the race of empires. All the world looked toward the new constellation that illuminated the western sky, and from all countries the stream of people flowed to the new home of Liberty beneath the setting sun. There, under the grateful shade of a Constitution of innate and unlimited beneficence, they who had not known what a Constitution was, sat down to enjoy in full measure a freedom, such as they had never tasted in the kingdoms whence they came. They were welcomed to our shores and our Union, by those who had emancipated the one and established the other, and from year to year, as each Fourth of July dawned, all proclaimed anew—*we are united, we are* ONE! That great truth made the nation great. Internal peace, fraternity, and prosperity went hand in hand. The nation grew, as never nation grew before, in wealth, in power, and in the world's consideration. At one stride it stretched its sway across the continent. The morning sun awoke its sleeping children on the shores of the Atlantic, at the moment that the waves of the Pacific, three thousand miles away,

were lulling the wild denizens of the forest to their midnight slumbers; and over all, sleeping or waking, the Constitution, never sleeping, still gently shed the dew of its perennial blessings. Throughout all that vast expanse, not one human being breathed a complaint against the Government our fathers had bequeathed to us, or heaved a sigh for a return to royal rule, or whispered a thought that our voluntary and blood-bought Union might, or possibly could, cease to be. All was peace, all was harmony, for all was unity. And when, on the Fourth of July, 1826, amidst the nation's joyful observance of the fiftieth anniversary of its Independence, the spirits of JOHN ADAMS and THOMAS JEFFERSON bade farewell together to the country they had loved and served so well, the last sound of earth that fell upon their closing ears, was the voice of the universal acclaim—*we are united, we are* ONE! Oh, that upon such a scene should ever fall a shadow! Oh, that with such sounds should ever mingle the wild discord of treason's harsh and bitter cry! But not a day too soon were those illustrious patriots taken from the evil to come. Hardly had the people ceased to mourn over their tombs, when the spirit of evil began to breathe his envenomed breath over a part of the nation. In the "Sunny South" the madness seized them that they had a KING! It was not a king elected, nor a king by right of birth, nor a constitutional king, nor a king by usurpation, nor a king governing by terror or by love; but a king that grew from the earth, that sat enthroned in the pocket, that ruled through dollars, that bought its

triumphs, that exacted obedience through greed, that proclaimed itself king of the kings, and even demanded that free republican America should do it homage! And truly America, that had thrown off the yoke of King George, did bend her neck to receive the yoke of King COTTON! It was no light yoke, gently fitted by the hand of love, but a heavy, hard yoke, thrust on by hands accustomed to mastery over the negro, *and held there by fierce threats of disunion.* It was the aristocracy of Slavery ruling the people through their love for the Union, and subjecting the nation, through its patriotism, to the domination of a ruthless minority. In all the world never was there such a sight before. It was too unnatural and repugnant to right to last long. The majority could not always consent to a minority rule, without abandoning in disgrace the fundamental axiom of republics. They asserted at the ballot-box their constitutional right to wield the Government, and elected a President acceptable to themselves. And now, Americans, hear the damnable sequel! Hardly was the will of the majority promulgated by the constituted authorities, in perfect accordance with the Constitution and laws, when the subjects of that mammon king, before even the elected Chief Magistrate could be installed in office, refused his rule, hurled defiance at laws and Constitution, ferociously snapped the cords which bound them to united America, and proclaimed that the part of the land inhabited by them should be SLAVERY'S LAND severed from that where Slavery is not—King Cotton's realm, over which the Constitution should abide, the Flag of the Union wave,

no more forever! With weapons of death in their hands, stolen from the nation, they denounced death to the Union to which they were parties, to the Constitution to which they owed allegiance, and to the nation of which they were born a part; and opened against their country a war, whose blazing scenes still glare before the bewildered gaze of men, and whose spirit gives a foretaste of that of the infernal pit from whence it sprang. The nation, true, thank God! to its great calling and its glorious traditions, and faithful to Constitution and liberty, girds itself to the stern duty of war, and goes forth in its power to smite treason down; and from day to day, and month to month, as the tide of battle swells and roars, now in the East, now in the West, now in the centre, but ever onward and Southward, the world holds its breath over the yet undecided, but never for a moment doubtful, issue of this dread struggle for life between the Constitution and the king.

Such, my friends and countrymen, is the true character of the war which the janissaries of King Cotton are waging against the Constitution of the United States, and, through it, against you and me, against your children and my children, against all in this land who love that Constitution and against their children, against free government here and over the whole earth, and against every hope of human liberty, now and hereafter! It is a war begun without a cause, but it is destined to have effects such as never followed war before, if the American people prove themselves true—as they will—to the memory of their fathers, to their

country, and to the claims of humanity. It is a war in which they dare not fail to conquer. Bound up in the issue are the dearest interests of generations yet to come, which we can not, without terrible guilt, trifle with or overlook. It is a war whose cost is not to be counted; it must be urged to a successful termination, cost what it may. Better beggar this generation, and leave to our posterity an unimpaired inheritance of Constitution and country, than save ourselves, and bequeath to them the ignominy of our unfaithfulness, with a legacy of perpetual feud. It is a war in which there can be no compromise. *Compromise with rebellion is capitulation to it.* Count him a traitor who counsels compromise! We have no compromise to make. We fight, not from choice, but because they forced arms into our unwilling hands; and we will not cease fighting till all arms are forced out of their parricidal hands. We fight for the Union and the Constitution; and if by unmanly compromise — and any compromise would be unmanly—we suffer the one to be dismembered or the other overthrown, in ever so small a degree, what a hiss of scorn would rise from the whole world at the twenty millions that truckled to five millions! But let it be understood that we do not fight for "the Union *as it was*," if my understanding of that much used phrase is correct. If it means—as I believe it does with those who so trippingly use it—*the Union dominated by Slavery*, then we fight for no such Union, nor can such ever again exist. We fight for the primal Union, the true Union, the Union that was before King Cotton raised his iron sceptre, and

before an arrogant aristocracy lorded it over us; when, however we might differ on questions of policy, all were intent on the good of the whole country, and all willingly bowed to the voice of the majority. For *that* Union we fight; and no other will emerge from this contest. The war for this is one whose end we can not now see, but we must see it out to its end. It is vain to cry, as many do, "*Peace! peace! Oh, let us have peace!*" There can be, ought to be, must be no peace, but that which follows unconditional submission to the Constitution over the whole land. Any other would be but the beginning of war. When a merciful God grants us peace, let it not be based on the recognition of a piratical Confederacy, but upon its annihilation. Then only will it endure. And, my friends, it is emphatically a war of *subjugation*. One side or the other must be subjugated. There is no middle ground, where the combatants may lay down their arms, retire from the contest, and leave things *as they were*. The Constitution must subjugate the king, or the king the Constitution. Both can not be supreme in this land. And as the whole land rightfully belongs to the Constitution, and the whole nation has, in its different parts, with universal consent, declared the Constitution supreme, the king *must* bow to its authority—must be, will be *subjugated*. But it is not a war against Slavery, though Slavery is warring against the Union. I call you to witness that the Government has borne itself, from the first, with eminent forbearance toward that which is the origin, the life, and the sustaining force of the rebellion. Were the slaves of the South

now removed from the continent, the rebellion would not strike another blow. And yet the Government has solemnly declared that it wars not upon Slavery. But let us look at things as they are. We have all learned much since this war began, and we have much more to learn before its end. The friends of Slavery in the loyal States are not now, in numbers, what they were at the outbreak of the rebellion. The attempt of the South at revolution, for Slavery has worked a portentous revolution in sentiment against Slavery, in the border slave States and the free States. Let us not willfully shut our eyes to this, but bravely confront the truth. Slowly and reluctantly, but certainly, the mind of the nation opens to the apprehension that Slavery and the Constitution can not live together, and that Slavery must perish. I speak of this as a fact which I believe to exist, not as a result I aim to produce, or desire to see. I shrink from the thought that the time may come when the united voice of patriots throughout the land will demand the extirpation of Slavery. I would shun that day, if possible. But I declare my conviction, that if the South wages this war another twelvemonth, Slavery may not survive that period anywhere within the limits of the Union. God grant that before the day of forbearance shall have passed away, the deluded people of the South may see their error, and, expelling their traitorous leaders from their midst, return to their place in the nation, never again to depart thence while the world stands.

My friends, never has there been a period in our

history, when the PEOPLE—those who do the voting and the fighting—should take public affairs into their own consideration and keeping, half as much as now. They should, without hesitation or reserve, renounce the lead and counsels of politicians, who approach them with propositions to reorganize old political parties. We want no party now, but that which will sustain the Chief Magistrate of the nation in asserting the nation's supremacy. He has proved himself a true man and a true patriot, in a period of incomparable trial. I did not support his election, but I honor him for his honesty, his bravery, his firmness, his steadfast adherence to law, and his fidelity to the Union. I have no sympathy with, or respect for, the sentiment once expressed to me by a leading politician in this State, who said he was "for the Union, but against LINCOLN." I am for the Union and LINCOLN both; for he has shown himself a wise, earnest, fearless, and faithful President. Had the great DOUGLAS lived, he would have been a giant in support of LINCOLN. After Sumter's fall he recognized only two parties in this country—PATRIOTS and TRAITORS; and that is the only true division now. I was a Democrat, and look with satisfaction at the support I gave the lamented statesman of Illinois; but I remember with shame that secession proceeded from Democrats, was inaugurated in a Democratic National Convention, was permitted, if not encouraged, by a Democratic President, and received its weapons through the traitorous machinations of a Democratic Secretary of War. We can do without the Democratic or any other mere political party until

treason is exterminated and the Union triumphantly vindicated. Any party but a great UNION PARTY, organized now, would be organized only as an *Opposition;* and the country needs no opposition, except to treason. Save the country first, and then mind its politics. Mr. LINCOLN is entitled to the support of the whole loyal people of the land, in his efforts to sustain the honor and existence of the nation. It were an unworthy proceeding to clog his administration with an opposition which could only impair its power to crush the rebellion; and a deep wrong to make him ask from avowed opponents the means of doing so. *We want no courting, in advance, of the votes of a consolidated South, when the Union is restored.* We want no intrigues of politicians for future advancement by those who trampled and spit upon the Flag of the Union, and slew them that rushed to its rescue. The latter have declared war against their country, and every patriot should declare war against their domination. The country needs only patriots now, and they are to be found only among those who, discarding for the time old party names and platforms and predilections, take their stations reverently and honestly beneath that Flag, to hold up the hands of its constitutional defender, whoever he may be, till the last hour of this infamous rebellion.

But, my friends and countrymen, there is a brighter and more cheering view of this wretched period in our country's history. We may not scan too closely the mysterious ways of Him who rules in the affairs of nations; but we may hope that he has great purposes

for our national good in this our heavy calamity. I doubt it not, and am thankful that I do not. I believe that, whatever else may result from this war, two things will stand gloriously demonstrated to the world; themselves worth all the blood and treasure which this war may cost; for, once demonstrated, they establish the American Nation forever. The first is, *the invulnerability of the nation to foreign attack*, and the second is, *the impregnability of the Constitution against domestic assault.* No nation ever exhibited such warlike spirit and resources as the American people have displayed since the day that Sumter fell; and yet they have put forth but a part of their strength. Peace with us is now, more than ever, the interest of all nations. None will desire war with a people that, with scarcely the nucleus of an army, brought into the field, in three months, more than half a million of as brave and effective soldiers as the world has seen; and that, with only a pitiful apology for a navy, now floats its flag from nearly three hundred vessels of war. They have, for the first time, seen what America is, and henceforth she walks erect among them, their undoubted peer in war, as she long has been in peace. But the other and greater problem has received its triumphant and final solution, without which it could not be said that the nation was certainly established. Glory to God, THE CONSTITUTION IS IMPREGNABLE! As long as it was uncertain whether that great citadel of our liberties was capable of resisting domestic assault, our prosperity rested upon an unsubstantial, because a doubtful basis. Its firmness had to be demonstrated,

before we could abide in steadfast faith of the future. Behold that demonstration in the history of the past year! Time, much time, may be required to crush rebellion; but already we know that the foundations of the Constitution lie deep and solid in the hearts of the people, and that they have the courage and the power to guard and preserve it. Such knowledge is of infinite value. It strengthens the nation's heart more than a thousand victories over foreign foes. From the days of this rebellion we may date the steady onward career of the American people. They have shown that they are fit to be free, that they can govern themselves, and that they can and will defend against every attack the priceless birthright of their free institutions; and in high and unshaken fidelity to the great charge committed to their hands, they have sent forth the irrevocable decree, that, in all the years to come, over every foot of their rightful possessions, East and West, North and South, the STARS AND STRIPES shall wave, the glorious symbol of a Union indivisible, a Constitution imperishable, and a Nation immortal.

SLAVERY'S WAR

UPON THE CONSTITUTION.*

Three-quarters of a century ago, that noble body of American statesmen and patriots, over which the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY presided, completed the formation of the Constitution of the United States, and presented it for adoption by the American people, as a form of Government and a bond of Union which they believed would endure through all future time. It was the first written Constitution ever adopted by any nation; and it has, in the world's judgment, stood, from that day to this, as the noblest monument ever reared by freemen to their own wisdom and patriotism. It has shed upon our country unnumbered blessings, and has afforded a light to other nations struggling into the exercise of self-government. Under its benign sway every expectation of its framers for the good of America and of humanity has been fully realized; and there is not a hope that a patriot could cherish for his country, which would not be more than fulfilled by its continued existence.

* An Address delivered in St. Louis, on the Anniversary of the Constitution, September 17, 1862.

And yet, while there are those still living who lived at the day of its formation, the nation for which that Constitution was made is precipitated into a terrible struggle for its preservation from destruction by its own children! And it is while the land trembles beneath the tread of armed legions, and the air is rent with the roar of battle for and against the Union it was designed to cement and perpetuate, that we meet to observe as patriots the recurring anniversary of the great step which our fathers took towards making the American Nation what it was and is yet capable of being, the glory of freedom and of the human race.

Under any other circumstances than such as now fill our beloved land with grief and dread, it would be a work of love to trace the history of our Constitution, and endeavor to set forth the great principles which pervade its entire frame; but how could this be done, with the oppressed mind wandering every moment to the fiendish assault upon it now in progress, and swayed continually by alternate hopes and fears, as it follows the shifting scenes and changing tides of the war which is to end in its complete and final vindication or its destruction? It is impossible. The theme most prominent under such circumstances is not the origin and principles of the Constitution, but the origin and principles of the war now waged against it. To that let us then direct our attention.

The American people have reached a point where an overpowering necessity is laid upon them to remove every film from their eyes, and look with perfectly clear and steady vision at what is around and before

them. I have a profound and painful impression, that nothwithstanding all said and written and seen and heard during the last twenty months, there are multitudes everywhere, especially in the border slave States, who have no correct idea of what this war really means, or to what it directly tends. God help them, if this continues much longer.

Light—light upon the motives, aims, and ends of the South in the beginning and the prosecution of this war, is what the people want. You may hurl denouncing generalities at the rebellion forever, and do little good: the people require tangible particulars. You can not feed a starving man on the fumes of a kitchen: he must have food or die. Supernatural eloquence were but as fumes, if the public mind be not imbued with knowledge of the true character and actual intent of Southern treason. The popular heart answers truth with mighty throbs: it answers nothing else so. It may flutter for a while under a transient stimulus, but it is the tremor of weakness. Truth alone makes it strong. I dare not approach it with aught but truth; with that I dare seek its innermost recesses. I intend to speak the truth now. I will speak it here, in this city, face to face with that pestilent element of treachery and treason, which, last year, in the first months of the rebellion, bore so high a head, and which, *yet unexpelled*, scowls through our streets by day, and, in nightly conclave of the Knights of the Golden Circle, schemes to build an EMPIRE OF SLAVERY over our country's grave!

Frequently as I have spoken of Slavery as connected with this rebellion, it is of that I shall now speak again.

When Cato, ever after his visit to Carthage, ended his every speech with the well-known words, "*Præterea censeo Carthaginem esse delendam*," it was to impress continually upon Rome that her only safety was in the destruction of her great rival. When, in addressing the people in this crisis, I recur again and again to Slavery, it is because I believe nothing with a more unbidden and resistless conviction, than that Slavery was the one sole cause, and is now the single life-principle and the great sustaining power, of the rebellion; and that the safety of the country demands that the people know and never forget those truths.

So speaking, I refer not to Slavery as a system of domestic labor, nor to any of its ordinary moral, social, or economical aspects, nor to the wrongs, oppressions, sins, and barbarisms which have been laid to its charge. I am on higher ground than that. Passing by every other view of Slavery, I deal with it now only in its relations to the rebellion. It is of Slavery the "peculiar institution," loved more than country by the South—of Slavery as the foundation and instrument of aggressive political power—of Slavery as the hotbed of a "social aristocracy," alien in spirit to our free institutions—of Slavery speaking and acting through its perfidious votaries—of Slavery in its faithless abandonment of all honor, duty, and patriotism, for the sake of its own advancement—of Slavery plotting treason for thirty years—of Slavery false to country and therefore false to everything—of Slavery the secessionist, the rebel, the traitor, the parricide, the fillibuster, the guerrilla, the demon of destruction,

that I speak, and, with God's help, will continue to speak; for I dare not smother down the burning convictions forced into my soul by this hell-born rebellion.

My friends, but the other day our country was tranquil, prosperous, and united; to-day, it writhes and quivers under the deadly blows of Slavery, the armed destroyer; blows causeless, and therefore most cruel; blows struck with all the power of unprovoked and savage malignity; blows aimed at the very life of a nation that had nourished Slavery as a child; blows which, if successful, will batter down into a shapeless mass of ruins all that makes our country worthy of our love, or of the respect of mankind! It is the Samson of Slavery heaving at the pillars of the Constitution—the Lucifer of Slavery desolating the realm it can not rule! Search the world's records and traditions for a parallel, and desist in despair; for never was there a crime approaching it in distant and feeble comparison. It comprehends every other, and overtops them all. American Slavery has made itself the CAIN of the human race: some time its wail will be heard, "*Behold, thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth!*"

Can there be any lingering doubt that Slavery is the wanton aggressor in this mortal strife? Not for an instant, with him who looks and reads and thinks; not for an instant, with him who is open to truth; not for an instant, with any but those who will not see; and many such there are, with whom all argument and appeal is vain. Not to such do I speak; but to those who

hearing will heed, and heeding will embrace the truth, for its own and their country's sake. Of such there are tens of thousands, who love the Union with their whole hearts, but do not yet distinctly recognize the Union's enemy. They know that the Union is assailed, and they give their sons and their substance for its defense, but still do not fully see what assails it. They hear by day, and dream by night, of horrid war between opposing hosts, that yesterday were brothers, and ought to be brothers to-day, to-morrow, and always; but know not how all this came about, or why it should be. Let them clear away the mists which becloud their vision, and see that SLAVERY, in the reckless ambition, the heartless selfishness, the fierce intolerance, the tyrannical will, and the piratical greed of its remorseless aristocracy, must alone bear the ignominy of this unmatched crime forever.

And yet there are those who deny this, and those that ignore it. Of the first class, besides the host of Slavery's devotees, and the attendant retinue of politicians, greedy for votes and office, each and all frowning upon or sneering at the idea of Slavery's responsibility in any way for our present calamities, I have observed, among men of note, so distinguished and venerable a man as AMOS KENDALL, in a letter to the President of the United States, denying that Slavery was the cause of the rebellion! In the second class are found newspapers, which, reserving their lightnings for the Abolitionists, the Black Republicans and the Radicals, launch promiscuous thunder at the rebellion, but betray not the least consciousness that

Slavery has anything on earth to do with it; and eloquent orators, who enthrall admiring crowds with ornate discourse about every element and feature of the rebellion, save just that insignificant one of Slavery; and a numberless crowd of "weak brethren," instantly aghast at the slightest question of the virgin purity of the "peculiar institution;" all opposing, but vainly, the resistance of a dead silence to that mighty public opinion, which marches straight forward to burn into the brow of Slavery the eternal brand of the traitor and the parricide. Dare I confront such odds? Yes, and a thousand times more; for truth shuns no conflict, fears no foes; nor, armed with truth, do I. That I am so armed, it is now my duty to show. In doing so I must needs use some facts which I have before used in public. No matter; they do not grow old, nor will they ever lose their point.

In a commercial Convention of delegates from eight Southern States, held at Vicksburg, in May, 1860, Mr. SPRATT, of South Carolina, in advocating resolutions in favor of re-opening the African slave-trade, used these words:

"It might be said that the slave trade could not be legalized within the Union, and that to re-establish it the Union would have to be dissolved. LET IT BE SO. THE MEN OF THE SOUTH HAVE HIGHER TRUSTS THAN TO PRESERVE THE UNION."

There was a day when such words would, even in Vicksburg, have called down a storm of indignation and reproach upon their utterer; but then and there they received the direct sanction of the body to which

they were addressed, by its adoption of the resolutions referred to; thereby proclaiming defiance to the Constitution which prohibits that trade. Mr. SPRATT was a representative there of that "social aristocracy," about which, less than a year later, he wrote a letter, that is probably the most vivid and truthful exposition of the spirit and aims of secession that exists. He spoke the simple, undisguised, and most execrable truth, as held by his class, when he said, "*the men of the South had higher trusts than to preserve the Union.*" He announced himself, in advance, a traitor in heart, as afterwards he became one in act. And it was for Slavery, and, far worse, for the renewal of that accursed traffic, against which the anathemas of civilized nations are hurled, that he proclaimed his treason. He renounced the Constitution of his country, and defied the conscience of Christendom, for the sake of a return, in this enlightened age and land, to that diabolical piracy of human beings, upon which, more than seventy years before, the fathers of this nation had set the seal of irrevocable condemnation. This was one of the "higher trusts," which the men of the South held to be above the preservation of the Union!

If this fact stood alone, it would be the enigma of the age; but it ceases to excite our special wonder, when we see in it but the natural fruit of nearly thirty years' effort to enshrine Slavery in the Southern mind, not only as the unfailing spring of material prosperity, but as the normal condition of society, and as a blessing divinely ordained to perpetuation and diffusion, and worthy to be made "the chief stone

in the corner" of a republican form of government emanating from Americans, in the latter half of the Nineteenth Century!

Fifteen years before, "men of the South" had declared that they preferred the annexation of Texas—a vast domain dedicated to, and desired by them for the spread of, Slavery—to the preservation of the Union. Five years later, they threatened the Union, unless Slavery were allowed unrestricted access to the Territories. Six years nearer the present time, they were ready for revolt, if the Republican candidate should be elected President. Four years still nearer, they did revolt, when another Republican candidate, through their own design and their own intrigue was elected to that high office. Through all these periods of agitation and danger, the animating and sole incentive of Southern action was *the extension and perpetuation of Slavery.* Upon this, and for this alone, the idea and purpose of a Southern Confederacy were announced, not only to the people of the South, but in the halls of Congress. Hear some of the utterances of Southern aristocrats on this point.

Senator IVERSON, of Georgia, said in the Senate:

"There is but one path of safety for the South; but one mode of preserving her institution of domestic Slavery; and that is a confederacy of States having no incongruous and opposing elements—a confederacy of *slave States* alone, with homogeneous language, laws, interests, and institutions. Under such a confederated Republic, with a Constitution which should shut out the approach and entrance of all incongruous and conflicting elements, which should *protect the*

institution from change, and keep the whole nation bound to its preservation, by an unchangeable fundamental law, the fifteen slave States, with their *power of expansion*, would present to the world the most free, prosperous, and happy nation on the face of the wide earth."

Mr. BROOKS, Representative in Congress from South Carolina, said:

"We have the issue upon us now; and how are we to meet it? I tell you, from the bottom of my heart, that the only mode which I can think available for meeting it is just to tear the Constitution of the United States, trample it under foot, and form a Southern Confederacy, every State of which shall be a *slaveholding State*."

The South Carolina Convention, in December, 1860, in an address to the people of the slaveholding States, urged them to secession in the following terms:

"CITIZENS OF THE SLAVEHOLDING STATES OF THE UNITED STATES: Circumstances beyond our control have placed us in the van of the great controversy between the Northern and Southern States. We would have preferred that other States should have assumed the position we now occupy. Independent ourselves, we disclaim any desire or design to lead the counsels of the other Southern States. Providence has cast our lot together, by extending over us an identity of purpose, interests and institutions. South Carolina desires no destiny separate from yours. To be one of a GREAT SLAVEHOLDING CONFEDERACY, stretching its arms over a territory larger than any power in Europe possesses—with a population four times greater than that of the whole United States when they achieved their independence of the British empire—with productions which make our existence more important to the world

than that of any other people who inhabit it—with common institutions to defend and common dangers to encounter—we ask your sympathy and confederation. * * * United together, and we must be the most independent, as we are the most important, among the nations of the world. United together, and *we require no other instrument to conquer peace than our beneficent productions.* United together, and we must be a great, free and prosperous people, whose renown must spread throughout the civilized world and pass down, we trust, to the remotest ages. WE ASK YOU TO JOIN US IN FORMING A CONFEDERACY OF SLAVEHOLDING STATES."

In these three brief specimens you have the spirit which impelled the South into disunion. A volume of such treasonable and incendiary expressions might be compiled; but these are enough for this occasion. They teach too plainly for any one to doubt, that the glittering price of treason was a Confederacy living, moving, and having its being in Slavery; where, free from "incongruous and conflicting elements," the aristocrats of Slavery might mature and execute schemes of expansion and conquest, which should eclipse those of Cortez and Pizarro, and start Slavery forward in its anticipated career of universal dominion.

For, my friends, let no man deceive himself with the fancy, that a Southern Confederacy meant only a Confederacy of such slave States as could be wrenched from our Union. Men who had fiercely struggled in the Union, through long years, for the expansion of Slavery here, were not the men to abide its restriction to the limits of those States out of the Union. Nor did

they profess any such intention. Emboldened by the near approach of the consummation of their wicked machinations, they declared that to confine Slavery to that area would destroy it, and daringly avowed the fixed purpose, at every hazard, to push it into adjacent regions, belonging to foreign nations in amity with the American Government and people. Secession, then, was not the exodus of the South from the presence of the Pharaoh of Abolitionism, but the beginning of a career of buccaneering subjugation, in which the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night should lead on and on to the enslavement of contiguous non-slaveholding nations, for the extension, establishment, and perpetuation of African Slavery. Listen to some of their declarations of this audacious and infernal purpose.

Senator IVERSON said:

"In a confederated government of their own, the Southern States would enjoy sources of wealth, prosperity, and power, unsurpassed by any nation on earth. *No neutrality laws would restrain our adventurous sons.* Our *expanding policy* would stretch far beyond present limits. Central America would join her destiny to ours, and so would Cuba, now withheld from us by the voice and votes of Abolition enemies."

Senator BROWN, of Mississippi said:

"I want Cuba; I want Tamaulipas, Potosi, and one or two other Mexican States; and I want them all for the same reason—*for the planting and spreading of* SLAVERY. And a footing in Central America will wonderfully aid us in acquiring those other States. Yes; I want those countries for THE SPREAD OF SLAVERY. I would spread the blessings of Slavery, like the religion of our Divine Master, to the uttermost ends of the earth. * * * Whether we can obtain

the territory while the Union lasts, I do not know; I fear we can not. But I would make an honest effort, and if we failed, I would go out of the Union, and try it there."

Ex-Gov. Call, of Florida, said:

"Slavery can not be stopped in its career of usefulness to the whole world. It can not be confined to its present limits. Dire and uncontrollable necessity will compel the master and the slave *to cut their way through every barrier which may be thrown around it, or perish together in the attempt.* * * * It may be in the Providence of God that the American Union, which has cheered the whole world with its promises, like the star which stood for a while over the cradle of Bethlehem, may fall and lose its light forever. It may be in His dispensation of human events, that the great American family shall be divided into many nations. But divided or united, the path of destiny must lead the Anglo-Saxon race to the mastery of this whole continent. And if the whole column should not advance, this division of the race will, *with the institution of African Slavery, advance from the banks of the Rio Grande to the line under the sun*, establishing the waymarks of progress, the altars of the reformed religion, the temples of a higher civilization, a purer liberty, and a better system of human government."

And last, but very far from least, hear the words of John S. Preston, secession Commissioner from South Carolina, addressed to the Virginia Convention, to induce that body to pass an ordinance of secession:

"Virginia will take her place in the front ranks. She will be as she has been for one hundred years, the foremost in the world in the cause of liberty. She will stand here with her uplifted arm, not only as a barrier, but the guiding star to an empire, *stretching from her feet to the tropics, from the Atlantic to the Pacific*—

grander in proportions, stronger in power, freer in right, than any which has preceded it; which will divide the rule of the Atlantic, be felt in the far-heaving waves of the Pacific, *and will own the Gulf of Mexico and the Carribean Sea.*"

My friends and countrymen, in this exposition, out of Southern mouths, of the *real* spirit, scope, and aim of secession, is the undoubted and authentic explanation of that memorable anouncement by Southern leaders, in the winter of 1860–61, *that they would not remain in the Union, if a sheet of blank paper were given them, and they were allowed to write on it their own terms!* Those infamous conspirators had ulterior objects of unhallowed and base ambition, which they knew were unattainable in the Union, and they resolved, without hesitation or remorse, to immolate the Union, because it held them back. Not, then, for any wrongs received or feared, but for the sake of the grand destiny they had marked out for themselves and Slavery, all arrangement, all compromise, all conciliation, all relenting was renounced, that they might, over the ruins of the Constitution, carve their way with the sword to their dazzling goal. Can any one whose judgment is not wholly perverted, whose conscience is not thoroughly petrified, look upon such a picture, without recoiling as from an open view of the bottomless pit? What principle of honor, or morality, or common decency, vindicates such a scheme of willful and measureless wrong? or rather, what principle of honor, morality, decency, religion, or law, is not trampled under foot by it? It smites the laws of the country into the dust, it outrages the Constitution, it degrades the American name, it

affronts the public sentiment of the world, it violates all international law, it spits upon the Bible, it spurns the teachings of Christ, it defies the throne of Eternal Justice; and all in the name of Slavery, and for the compulsory spread of Slavery over nations, which had long ago banished it from their borders, and devoted their domains to the inhabitation of free men, as they hoped and believed, throughout all generations! Had this been foretold thirty years ago, every man in the South, would, like Hazael, have exclaimed, "*What! is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?*" and yet they do it now, not only without compunction or shame, but with a claim of right, and with an insolent demand to be "let alone" in doing it! And more amazing still, it is done in the name of "a higher civilization, and a purer liberty;" as if higher civilization and negro bondage were inseparable, and Liberty and Slavery had become synonyms in the vocabulary of this day! And, that the picture may want no height of coloring or depth of shadow, they march to their hellish work over the outraged flag of their country, and the prostrate bodies of their brothers, murdered by scores of thousands, as they rally in arms to defend their country against its own degenerate and piratical sons!

Think you this is all? Far, very far, from it. With their "Slave Republic" once established, and extended Southward to "the line under the sun," and with the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea, and the mouth of the Mississippi under their control, will they rest there? Not for a day, except to gather

strength for new forays for Slavery. "An empire, grander in proportions, stronger in power, freer in right than any which has preceded it," is the gorgeous prize, and will they not clutch at it? CONQUEST FOR SLAVERY! is their slogan; and how long will it be until, backed by nations bound to them through their cotton, and sympathising with their aristocratic impulses and principles, they will turn *northward*, to subjugate the nation that failed when it might to subjugate them? My friends, call not this an idle apprehension—a groundless fear. *If this gigantic piracy be not exterminated now, it will, at no distant day after establishing itself, aim at "the mastery of this whole continent," and its consequent subjection to the dominion of Slavery!* Remember, Slavery is not fighting to repel attack, but for EXTENSION AND PERPETUITY: where will be its point of repose in the Western hemisphere? Just where, like Alexander, it can sit down and weep that there is no more to conquer. Say not that their aim is impossible. Great as America is, she may not be equal to such a combination as the South might form, *and this day expects to form*, with European nations, through promised commercial advantages, and congeniality of hatred toward those free institutions, whose life depends upon the fidelity, the bravery, and endurance of her loyal people in this conflict. Awake to the terrible consciousness, that the success of the rebellion is death to America! Awake to the certainty, that unless a more mighty effort than has yet been put forth be made, there is danger of its success! Awake to the conviction that

the nation must *give itself up* to this conflict, or despair of triumph! Awake to the stern reality, that this destroying assault by Slavery upon all that we hold dear must be repulsed, and the assailants defeated, scattered, subjugated, and, if need be, exterminated, or we become THE SLAVES OF SLAVERY!

My friends, it is a startling truth that never since Sumter's fall has the nation fully risen to the height of the great occasion. Not only has it not seen in its true light the damnable spirit and purpose of the rebel aristocracy, underlying the whole surface of the rebellion, and scorning all patriotic and brotherly appeals, and yet carefully excluded from all their official pronunciamentos, in order to blind the world to their real intent and object; but it has borne a heavy weight of long-accustomed deference to Slavery, and been restrained by an honest, but as we now see, mistaken and unavailing, conservatism, toward that institution, which exhibits no conservatism except of itself, and brooks no radicalism but that itself employs to destroy the Union, and clear the way for its own lawless domination and expansion. And the nation has constantly underrated the military strength of the rebellion, and under-estimated the aid afforded it by the three million and a half of slaves that remain at home. We counted them as a dead weight upon the South in this war; but they have so far proved its most buoyant and most effective support. And there has lurked through the public mind, especially in the border slave States, a notion that some how or other, no one could tell how, this frightful conflict would pass away with

"nobody hurt" much, and with Slavery restored to its old position in "the Union *as it was.*" It is impossible to estimate the evil which this mischievous idea has wrought, in shaping the course of men to propitiate Slavery and its votaries. Politicians keep one eye half open for the country, and the other wide open for disloyal votes, when they shall again be available. Merchants balance between loyalty and trade, often holding the former at a discount. Lawyers watch for the fees of disloyal clients, and doctors for the calls of traitorous patients, more than for the honor of our flag. Preachers refuse either prayer or sermon for the Government, lest disloyal ears should be offended. Thousands hang back from avowed loyalty, to escape traitors' frowns; and thousands professing loyalty yield a grudging and feeble support to the Union in its peril, that they may commend themselves to the Union's enemies. All this, so disgraceful to the American character, so degrading to all true manhood, so false to every dictate of patriotism, and so injurious to the Government in this mortal struggle, has proceeded from the cherished belief that Slavery is to survive this war, and resume its former influence. It is time that this belief yield somewhat of its strength. It is time that every man should see that the nation will, in all human probability, be *driven*, by the inexorable law of self preservation, *to destroy Slavery.*

In common with hundreds of thousands of loyal citizens, I have earnestly hoped that this conflict might stop short of that point; but hope has been well-nigh

quenched within me by the growing conviction, in view of the facts I have laid before you, and of the extremity to which the South has waged this war, that Slavery or my country must perish. When that dread alternative shall be fully presented, God forbid that I should hesitate one moment which to choose! My country must live, though slavery die a thousand deaths. Tell me not that we war only for the Constitution and the Union. I know it well; *but can they be saved now, and for all coming time, and save Slavery, their enemy, too?* If not, let Slavery end its days here and now, whatever may follow. A war for the mere manumission of negroes—a war to obliterate Slavery as a mere domestic institution, the nation would not and should not wage; but against Slavery the rebel and traitor in arms I fear it must, if it would itself live. I almost despair of the nation's life, but by the death of Slavery. Time was, in the early period of the rebellion, when its suppression or abandonment might have left Slavery unshaken by its own horrible crime; but that time is hopelessly past. I see no day of adjustment, restoration, or conciliation in the future. Slavery proclaims that it conciliates only with the sword—adjusts only at the cannon's mouth. He who expects adjustment, except by the unconditional submission of the South, knows little of the character and temper of the loyal portion of the nation. He who looks for a restoration of the territorial integrity of the Union otherwise than by subjugating the rebels from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, knows not what it is for an aristocracy to risk its all

upon such a desperate venture as this. The first step in secession placed them beyond all hope, but in the complete establishment of their slave empire. They know this well. They have never asked restoration to the Union on any terms, and they would not accept it now, were it freely and cordially offered, with unrestricted amnesty to all. They hate the Union, because it is not "homogeneous;" that is, not all under the sway of Slavery. They loathe the "pure democracy" of the North, because it is uncongenial to their "social aristocracy," and because they hold that there "the reins of Government come from the *heels* of society," as they term the free white laborer. Ten thousand times they have declared that they never will unite with the North again, and it is certain that they are in earnest. Away, then, with idle talk about conciliation and adjustment! Let the nation brace itself up to fight this war through to the perfect and absolute restoration of the authority of the Constitution, or give up the contest at once, and resign itself to perpetual disgrace. If to accomplish the former we must strike down slavery, as well as its armies, the world will commend the act; and the voice of our own loyal people will burst forth in the midst of their mourning for sons and brothers dead in battle, with the unhesitating and firm response, "LET IT BE SO! THE MEN OF THE NORTH HAVE HIGHER TRUSTS THAN TO PRESERVE SLAVERY!"

THE PROCLAMATION

OF EMANCIPATION.*

NEVER has it been my duty to address a popular assemblage, under circumstances more solemn and momentous than those in which the American people are now placed. Were I to give way to expressions of mere personal feelings, it would be difficult to define the mingled emotions with which I have accepted the invitation to appear before you on this occasion. But I have endeavored to put aside all feeling, save that which yearns toward my beloved and suffering country, and every purpose but that which binds me, in life or in death, to her welfare and honor. I am no politician; I belong to no party; I have nothing to ask for myself at the hands of the people, but to be recognized as one ready to do anything in that holy cause, and to be anything that is farthest removed from a traitor, whether such as skulk from our soil southward, to help slay their patriot brothers, or such as hang back under the folds of the old Flag, that they may, while enjoying its protection, more surely aid in betraying and dis-

* A Speech delivered in Turners' Hall, St. Louis, January 28, 1863.

honoring it. Between such and me, I thank God! there is not, nor ever can be, any more concord than between fire and water; but discord, antagonism, and strife, now and evermore, until the venom of treason shall cease to poison their hearts, and to fire their brain with parricidal madness.

Indulge me, however, in a single remark as to my past position with reference to the subject which rises in this hour above every other — the institution of SLAVERY. I desire to preface the words which I deem it my duty to utter here, with the reiterated declaration, that I am not, nor ever have been, a fanatic against Slavery as a domestic institution, nor have I ever been connected for an hour with any party or association, which struck at Slavery in that character. I have always, however, believed Slavery a sore evil and a vast misfortune to our country, and was ready to hail its removal by proper means, as one of the greatest blessings which a kind Providence could vouchsafe us. When, therefore, I speak as I shall to-night, of Slavery, let no man say that I give utterance to any other than the opinions and convictions, which the horrid scenes of the last two years have fairly burned into my mind and heart, against the preconceptions of nearly thirty years. When I strike at Slavery, it is because Slavery strikes at my country; and for that I would STRIKE IT DOWN!

During those two years, we have witnessed the bloody climax of a conspiracy, begun in the preceding generation, to enthrone Slavery as a political power in this land, and to extend its sway over adjacent

countries, in the wild hope that, in the grasp and under the lead of the indomitable Anglo-Saxon race, it might become—what it had failed to become in any other hands—*a Power in the earth.* It is too late in the day for the arch-traitor, Jefferson Davis, to delude the world with such lying words as those quoted in one of the resolutions reported by your committee, affirming that he and his armies "*are not engaged in a conflict for conquest, or for aggrandizement.*" Does he comprehend the import of language? Does he know what conquest means? Does he suppose that the world has turned idiot, not to see that the South is aiming to strip by conquest from the United States a large part of its territory, three thousand miles of its sea-coast, and the mouth of that great Mississippi, whose waters roll in ceaseless and stately flow past this city of our habitation? Is there no vision of aggrandizement in that empire of the "*Golden Circle,*" which, sweeping from the capes of Virginia down to Cape Sable, and careering round the shores of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, was to plant its farthest standard in some yet unthought of point in South American wilds? And does he believe humanity in its dotage, that it can not see that this standard is to be borne onward in its blood-stained march of piracy and subjugation, by Slavery and for Slavery? No, my friends, he believes no such miserable stuff. He knew, long years ago, and he knows now, better than any but his co-conspirators could know, that a vast EMPIRE OF SLAVERY was the promise of his and their treachery to the noble REPUBLIC OF FREEDOM, which gave them birth, and

nurtured them into men of mark, only, as time has proved, that they might be more powerful and dangerous than common men in their accursed treason. It suits their purpose to deny now what two years ago they defiantly proclaimed; but men do not forget, nor can the world be mocked. The Ethiopian does not change his skin, nor the leopard his spots; nor have Southern traitors abandoned the infinitely atrocious purpose to destroy this blood-bought Union, for "THE SPREAD OF SLAVERY."

Your committee have, therefore, rightly judged, that in the very forefront of the declarations of this meeting should be proclaimed anew the great and solemn truth, that it is SOUTHERN SLAVERY, embodied in and acting through its lawless and conscienceless aristocracy, that has drenched this land in blood. Why should not that truth be declared, not only here and now, but everywhere and all the time? Of what avail is it to us, to our country, or to the cause of humanity, to bury it out of sight, and parade before our eyes some specious pretext for this rebellion, which we know to be false? Shall we fear to own the truth, because some muzzled traitor scowls in impotent wrath, or because his vote may some day be denied us, for having been true to truth? Let him who will shirk this mighty issue; I meet it, at all times and in all places, alike. If there was never before an occasion when it should be fairly and fearlessly met, that occasion is here and now. My voice is, and ever will be, that Southern Slavery *alone* is the cause of the horrible calamities of this civil war, and the human race in all the future will

join without dissent in that verdict. I would say otherwise, if I could; but like Martin Luther before the Diet of Worms, I answer: "HERE I STAND, I CAN DO NO OTHER; MAY GOD HELP ME! AMEN."

What then is the essential character of this war? My friends, the judgment and conscience of the whole civilized world, when the question comes to be fully understood, never can be, never will be, aught else than that it is a war of the aristocratic against the democratic principle; a war of an aristocratic form of society, resting upon and vitalized by a system of human Slavery, against a form of society in which each individual is as free as every other; a war based upon the sacrilegious idea that Slavery is a Divine institution, and that—in the words of Albert G. Brown, late Senator from Mississippi—its "*blessings should be spread, like the religion of our Divine Master, to the uttermost ends of the earth;*" a war for the spread of those blessings," not as "the religion of our Divine Master" goes forth, on the wings of a dove, bearing "peace on earth and good will toward men," but as that of the False Prophet, with intolerance, wrath, fire, and sword; a war, in one word, of human Slavery, as a dominant and aggressive power, against human Freedom, as a bulwark of human rights—of Africanized Americans against Americanized Americans—of a proud, conceited, and ferocious aristocracy against THE PEOPLE here, and against all peoples, everywhere, that would be free.

And it is not a war of *to-day* merely. It has already borne fruits which, for good or for ill, will never die.

Were it terminated this hour, its influence must reach onward into the unexplored future, blessing or cursing, freeing or enslaving, brightening or darkening, till the last hour of recorded time. There is no difficulty in deciding on which side is the light, and on which the darkness. It was the light of Freedom which illumined the pathway of our fathers, in their mighty struggle, and in the formation of that grand and unequaled fabric of Government we are now defending; and it is the darkness of Slavery under which that glorious fabric is now sought to be buried by its own children!

The conflict is, indeed, irrepressible; as irrepressible as that between good and evil, between right and wrong, between truth and falsehood, between Heaven and Hell. And who made it so? None but they who made of Slavery "AN IMAGE OF GOLD," and "set it up in the plain" of the South, and because the North would not "fall down and worship the golden image" that this Southern "Nebuchadnezzar had set up," decreed that this noble country should "be cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace" of this cruel and devouring war. This, my friends, is God's own truth about this unnatural and amazing conflict. History has yet to record, that they who cast America into this furnace were themselves slain by its "seven times heated" flame, while she "walked in the midst" with no "smell of fire" upon her resplendent robes.

If in this war Slavery was and is the aggressor; if the war was begun and is continued for "the planting and spreading of Slavery;" if Slavery has become the "golden image" which the South bows down to, and

wars with us because we too will not worship it; if Slavery feeds and clothes the armies of the South; if the Southern heart is envenomed against the North for the sake of Slavery; if our free institutions, and all the hopes of ourselves and our children are imperiled, that Slavery may be exalted, diffused, and perpetuated; about all of which there is no more room for doubt, than there is to doubt that this war exists; THEN IS THIS NATION BOUND TO DESTROY SLAVERY, wherever it is in armed rebellion. Turn which way you may, there is no escape from this alternative, except in cowardly and abject submission to the demands of the South. If you wish peace, it can be had to-morrow, by giving up all that the South exacts; but for how long? Not a day longer than it would take the parties to prepare for a renewal of the conflict. Divide this great Interior Valley of North America, either North and South, or East and West, and there is no more peace. God has decreed its permanent dismemberment to be a geographical impossibility. From every State west and south of New England, except New Jersey, Delaware, South Carolina, and Florida, the Almighty has sent the waters of this great continent flowing from myriads of fountains down this mighty Valley, which must forever belong to one people, and share one destiny. It is impossible for one people to own the trunk of the Mississippi, and a hostile people its mouth. There is no room for two discordant nations between the great Northern lakes and the Gulf of Mexico. The same political institutions must prevail over that entire region. While the South was satisfied to let Slavery retain its

original character as a mere system of domestic labor, there was no more necessity for discord, than there is between me, a non-slaveholder, and my neighbor, a slaveholder; but when the South made a political god of "the peculiar institution," and determined, if Slavery could not expand its dominion here, to rive this nation asunder, and take up its line of march through devastation and carnage to the final subjugation of the Western hemisphere to that institution, then it became manifest to reflecting men that the die was irrevocably cast, and that upon this generation was devolved by an All-wise Providence the dire conflict between Freedom and Slavery, which is to decide forever the fate of America. Slavery presents that issue at the point of the sword; LET SLAVERY PERISH BY THE SWORD!

We have long enough struck blows as in dreams at this horrid revolt, and held back the home thrust at its vital point. We have slain the soldiers of Slavery by thousands, but bowed, with hat in hand, to Slavery itself. We have braved death in every form for our noble country, but found it hard learning to brave the destruction of her relentless foe. We have wielded every weapon against the rebellion, but the very one that would be fatal to it. We have attacked armies of white men in the front, but left untouched a more numerous army of black men behind them, without which the rebellion would never have existed, or, existing, could not have lived a month. While we fight the rebellion we must also watch foreign Governments, which, as we are not the subjects of a dynasty, but republican freemen, have no sympathy with our

struggle for our national life; but rather would rejoice at our humiliation and dismemberment, even, at the hands of that institution, toward which they and their subjects profess unbounded hostility. And so it will ever be, as long as we ourselves hold Slavery too sacred to be assailed, though warring for our destruction. But when we learn to treat Slavery as a Constitution-breaker, a traitor, a marauder, a pirate, and a disturber of the peace of nations, and pronounce for its extirpation because it is all these, then we touch the world's heart, and the popular voice in other lands will be heard in tones which no government, however despotic, will dare defy.

That time has come—that lesson has been learned. On the first day of January, in this year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, the President of the United States, "by virtue of the power in him vested, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in the time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and Government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion," did by a solemn proclamation, "*aver and declare that all persons held as slaves within designated States and parts of States,* ARE, AND HENCEFORWARD SHALL BE FREE, *and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and* MAINTAIN *the freedom of said persons.*" Upon this act, which the President declares is "sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution—upon military necessity—he invokes

the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

My friends, if any words have, in the history of the world, emanated from the ruler of any people, which had a more august and enduring import than those, I know not of them. An involuntary feeling of awe rises within me as I read them, and endeavor to scan their probable influence upon the future of America and of humanity. They ring out the glad peal of this nation's deliverance, or toll the knell of its downfall. Not because the fate of the American people depends upon the mere question whether some millions of negroes shall be held in slavery in a portion of our domain; but because it does depend upon the question whether the masters of those negroes—a meagre minority of this nation—shall, over the ruins of our glorious patrimony of Freedom, erect an aggressive, warlike, and ruthless empire of Slavery. That is the vast and momentous issue which this Proclamation lays before the American people and the world, and concerning which the President of the United States "invokes the considerate judgment of mankind." As a part of that people we have met to express our judgment of his act. It is our high privilege and our duty to do so. Not that our action can give it additional effect; but, as ours is a Government of the people, that he may see—that all men may see, whether we are for or against this blow at the enemies of our country. And now, my countrymen, with as deep a sense as I ever entertained of the importance of a right judgment in regard to any question of public

moment, I hesitate not to declare my firm and unquestioning conviction, that that Proclamation was CONSTITUTIONAL, EXPEDIENT, AND JUST, and ought to be enforced with all the strength of the Army and Navy of the United States; to the end that the power of Southern traitors shall be broken, shattered, and crushed, forever and ever!

I am not unaware that there are true Unionists who do not approve of the action of the President. To such I would say, whatever your past judgment as to the expediency of such a measure, this is not the time to moot that point. The question is not, shall the act be done? IT IS DONE! The point is, will you stand up to it like patriots, or will you falter in your devotion to the Union, because henceforth its flag is to carry freedom to the slaves that make the very thews and sinews of the rebellion?

Do you withhold approval because you do not see that the Constitution authorizes it? Then take that instrument, and read and study every line and word of it, and find, if you can, one syllable that restrains the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, in keeping his sacred oath "to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution," from the exercise to the very last degree of the war power of the nation, *against the nation's enemies in arms.* Our fathers did not make that Constitution as a shield to its foes; and none but its foes now demand its protection against the power of the Government, wielded to preserve its own life.

Do you hold back because you do not perceive the

necessity for the step? But the Commander-in Chief surveying the whole field of the rebellion, in its cause and probable results, and in its relations to this country and to other countries, did consider it necessary, and it was for *him alone* to judge. Will you revolt against his judgment?

Are you in doubt as to the efficiency of the measure? What avail such doubts? Do they promote the Union cause? Do they make you any better patriot? Does your devotion to your country recruit itself from their companionship? Nay, is it not weakened by their presence?

Do you say, "What is the use of the Proclamation, when we have not the possession of the regions in which it is to operate, and it is therefore powerless?" I answer, that the same course of reasoning would enervate every blow; for Omniscience only can foresee whether any blow will be effectual or not. It is not for those aiming it to decide in advance that it will fail. So to decide is to insure failure.

Do you shrink from the picture which rushes upon your vision, of the maddening horrors of a servile insurrection? So do I, and so does every man with the least spark of humanity in his nature: but if such an insurrection follows the promulgation of a measure that is demanded to save the life of the nation, let the dread responsibility rest where, before God and men, it rightfully belongs—upon those whose treason creates the terrible necessity.

Are you troubled to know what shall be done with the millions of Southern negroes after they become

free? I answer, that it is not the present question; but *What shall be done with the rebellion?* Soldiers ask not in battle "What shall we do with the prisoners and the spoils when the fight is over?" but "How shall we whip the enemy?" To debate what shall become of the negro, is to put that problem in the scale against your country's life, whether you intend it or not. Leave the future to the future: the present is our care. The instant demand of the hour is, by every available means, to overwhelm, scatter, rout, and destroy traitors. Self-preservation demands that Slavery, their idol, and the right arm of their power, be wrested from them; for their feet are on the war-path, to which we can see no end, while Slavery bears them onward. The destiny of the enfranchised negroes none but God can appoint: leave it, then, to His all-ruling Providence.

But there are those who see in this measure only a deeper embitterment of the South, and an increased hopelessness of restoring the Union? Is that true? What hope has there ever been since Sumter fell, that the Union would be preserved otherwise than by the resistless agency of powder, ball, and bayonet? Is there a human being who still hugs the delusion, that peace is to smile upon this country again as a *united* country, except by the subjugation of this damnable rebellion? If there is, let him drop that folly from his embrace, and open his eyes to the utter hopelessness of every attempt to conciliate that aristocracy, which, with a deliberate purpose, formed in some Southern minds fifty years ago, and controlling Southern action

with steady sway through the past thirty years, resolved that this Union should be relentlessly destroyed, and supplanted in that fair Southern clime by "A CONFEDERACY OF SLAVEHOLDING STATES," to be, as they fondly hoped, "*the most important among the nations of the world.*" Half a century of treason, plotted and pursued through every form of duplicity, falsehood, and treachery, and blazing out at last in robbery, fire, and blood, is not to be conciliated, but with the full fruition of its desperate schemes. This Proclamation, then, makes no more hopeless what was hopeless from the moment of the rebellion's outbreak.

But, my friends, whatever the portents of this hour, in connection with this Proclamation, or with aught else under the sky, the true, earnest patriot has but one line of duty, and that is, by every act, by every word, by every thought, by every purpose, by every power granted him, to hold up the hands of the President in this war against the enemies of our country and the destroyers of our free institutions. As there is nothing in human history so horribly atrocious as this rebellion, so the imagination of man can conceive of nothing which would so shroud the world in gloom, as the blotting out of this Sun of Freedom from the firmament of nations. Wreck this Republic, and you wreck every hope of freedom in every human breast. For nearly three hundred years the hand of the Great Creator has shaped the destiny of America, as the home of Liberty and the refuge of the oppressed. From every country and every clime,

from the heavy tread of oligarchies, from the sharp fangs of despots, from the woes and fears of bloody revolutions, from poverty, heart-brokenness, and living death, millions have found here that freedom, which they sighed for as their richest boon in life, and the most blessed inheritance they could transmit to their children. Here has grown into gigantic proportions a nation presenting the grandest development the world has ever seen of human intelligence and progress, and holding in its outstretched hands to all the earth the choicest fruits man has ever tasted of regulated and constitutional liberty. To mortal prescience that nation seemed immortal—those fruits perennial and undecaying. But in the midst of peace, prosperity, and seeming contentment, all is plunged into confusion and dismay. The lurid cloud of war envelopes the land, the tread of armed legions shakes the earth, the thunders of battle fill the air, blood stains the ground, the groans of the dying fill the ears of night, and the wails of the bereaved rise to heaven from countless habitations! What enemy has done this? Have the despotisms of the Old World, tired of America's example and glory, massed their mighty columns to bear her down into the dust? Has her ancient foe challenged her to a third war of Independence? Has any other nation invaded her peaceful shores? No, my friends; would God it were any or all of these, rather than what it is! Her own sons are her assailants! Americans are pouring out the life-blood of America! The heirs of liberty are destroying their precious birthright! The children of the Constitution are

hacking and battering that glorious fabric, every seam of which was cemented with their fathers' blood, and every arch of which is vocal with the prayers and benedictions of the illustrious dead! And all for what? Who has oppressed, who wronged them? The voice of the universal brotherhood of man acquits this nation of wrong to them. What, then, urges on this demoniac onslaught? Let us not fear to speak the word again. Let us be true, though we die for it! Speak it, write it, print it, proclaim it, that it is THE ARISTOCRACY OF SLAVERY hurling itself against the buttresses of the Constitution, to clear it out of their pathway to empire! It is the lust of power, the greed of gain, the arbitrary will of inborn despots, that hurries them on in their hellish work. Will they triumph? Not if the sons of America, native and adopted, are faithful, and brave, and enduring. And shall we not be so? Shall we falter in the trying hour? Shall we fear to go forward? Fear, ten thousand times more, to go backward a single step! The Star of Hope leads *onward;* then let our march and our cry be ONWARD! ever ONWARD!

CAMP JACKSON:

ITS HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE.*

Great events make anniversaries, and all civilized peoples observe and commemorate them. To St. Louis, now in the hundredth year of its existence, no day has become more memorable than *the tenth day of May, eighteen hundred and sixty-one;* when was witnessed by her citizens, on this spot, within her own corporate limits, the first collision between our noble Union, and those recreant State authorities, which desired and intended to wrest Missouri by violence from the Union's embrace. This generation in St. Louis will not forget that day. The Secessionists of St. Louis will remember it as a day that suddenly nipped the treason of their leaders in the bud; and her patriots will cherish it as the day that rescued them and Missouri from the grasp of traitors, which, once fixed upon her, might not to this hour have been thrown off. History, too, will assign that day a position of prime importance in the course of events succeeding the fall of Sumter; for had the designs which caused the assemblage of citizen-

* An Oration delivered in St. Louis, May 11, 1863, on the Anniversary of the Capture of Camp Jackson.

soldiery at Camp Jackson been accomplished, who can estimate the extent of the injury to the Union cause in Missouri, and throughout this great Central Valley? God only knows whether the whole course of the dread conflict which has now been waged for more than two years, might not have been changed, disastrously to our country. Let us then render devout thanks to Him, for the day itself, and for the privilege of meeting here in peace to commemorate it!

You will not, my friends, fail to remember the wild excitement in our city and State, which followed the capture of Camp Jackson, and the use which was, only too successfully, made of that event, to inflame disloyalty and rebellion through all the borders of Missouri. To have attended to what was then said and written in denunciation of the capture, one would have thought that such an outrage as the world had not before known, had been perpetrated upon an innocent body of citizen soldiers, lawfully convened for a laudable purpose; and that those who composed the capturing force were demons in human shape, worthy only of execration in time, and of damnation in eternity; to the latter of which Missouri traitors would gladly and quickly have consigned them—if they could!

As to the character of the soldiery mustered at Camp Jackson, it is not just or true to class them all as traitors, or secessionists, or sympathizers with secession. While it is impossible to say at this time, even if it could ever have been said, who of the officers and men composing the encampment were loyal to the flag which floated over them, and who were not, it is,

I doubt not, strictly true that many were there who were loyal; who were unaware of the infamous designs of those who ordered their assembling; and who would have been deeply shocked, had they been led forth to do the work which the State authorities purposed should be done. Of them, as they were prior to, and upon the day of, the capture of Camp Jackson—not as many of them afterwards became—I would use no other words than those of pity for the unfortunate association which made them the victims of cunning and unscrupulous traitors. But of those there who knew the design of the encampment, and lent themselves to the first organized attempt to array Missouri against the glorious flag under which they were born, and by the protection of which they had lived and prospered, it is enough to say, that more devilish traitors never lived; and that such of them as have not already fallen in the rebel ranks, by Union ball or bayonet, should be thankful to their dying hour that the surrender of Camp Jackson saved them then from the traitor's ignominious fate, if, indeed, their being saved should be a ground of thankfulness in them, or anybody else on earth.

It is important, my friends, to put on record, so far as an address like this can accomplish it, the true character of that ill-starred camp, and of the men who planned and executed its capture. Diligent efforts have been made to cover up the truth about it, and to transmit its history to the future in a cloud. One aim of this discourse will be to set forth the simple truth, in connected form, so that whosoever may hear or read it, may know assuredly that the suppression of Camp

Jackson was not only authorized by the dictates of self-preservation, but was an act of military sagacity and heroism, which will forever stand out prominently in the history of this rebellion. In carrying out this purpose, it will be necessary to present documents of that period, at a somewhat greater length than is usual on such an occasion; but I do not apprehend that you will bestow grudgingly the time and attention which may be requisite to a clear array of the facts of its interesting history.

That Camp Jackson may not be without a hearing at the bar of public opinion, present and future, I will recall and record the larger part of an editorial article which appeared in the columns of the *Missouri Republican*, on the 13th of May, 1861, three days after that of the capture, and which bears evident marks of careful and deliberate preparation. Whatever may have been the impression of our citizens concerning it at the time, it has now, as an item of history, a peculiar interest. It is as follows:

"Now that there is quiet in the city—that the work of 'blood-letting' has ceased for the present—that the grave has opened to receive the dead men, women, and children ruthlessly slaughtered at Camp Jackson on Friday afternoon last—at a time when, possibly, this sacrifice is deemed sufficient to impress the people of St. Louis, and of the State, and the Union, with a knowledge of the energy and the power which is to be exerted over all of us—it may be permitted to us, before martial law is proclaimed, and, it may be, a censorship of the press established, to review the transactions of the last few days in St. Louis. We propose to confine ourselves to the events connected with the

attack upon, and the surrender of Camp Jackson, and the murder of unoffending men, women, and children, which followed that event.

"Camp Jackson was established, as every citizen of Missouri knows, in strict obedience to the laws of this State. A similar encampment, a year ago, excited no remark, except as evidence of a desire on the part of the volunteers to perfect themselves in a system of military tactics which, while it rendered them efficient in service, also contributed to their health, and to that *esprit du corps*, which is always necessary to success. There is no evidence to show that there was any object beyond these legitimate results in contemplation, when the order was given for the formation of Camp Jackson. Every order, from those of the Commander-in-chief, down to that of each of the companies has been made public, and not one of them contained the most remote allusion to any other purpose than that of perfection of military discipline, made necessary on the part of Missouri, at this time, by the fact that all the other States in the Union were arming, organizing, and disciplining the militia of their respective States. With no other object in view, Camp Jackson was established as a school of discipline and exercise, under the laws of the State. The opening was auspicious. The flag of the United States floated over the entire camp. No other national flag was permitted to be displayed. The men who formed the encampment, each and all of them, had taken the oath to support the Constitution of the United States and of this State. There was no qualification or mental reservation. For at least four days everything went on pleasantly at the camp; thousands of persons, men, women, and children, flocking thither to view the military field, and to interchange civilities with those who occupied. But it would seem that malignant spirits had determined that this state of things should not be continued and that Camp Jackson

must be attacked, and the citizen soldiery taken prisoners of war, no matter what the pretext might be. Rumors of this kind got wing on Wednesday, but they did not fix themselves on the public mind with any distinctness. All knew that the city was loyal to the Union, and that this had been shown in many ways. Still the rumors continued to obtain circulation, and next day were more prolific than ever. On Friday morning General Frost, in command of his encampment, felt it his duty to address the following note to Captain Lyon, in command of the Arsenal:

'HEADQUARTERS, CAMP JACKSON,
MISSOURI MILITIA, May 10, 1861.

'*Capt. N. Lyon, commanding United States troops in and about St. Louis Arsenal.*

'SIR:—I am continually in receipt of information that you contemplate an attack upon my camp, whilst I understand that you are impressed with an idea that an attack upon the Arsenal and United States troops is intended on the part of the Militia of Missouri. I am greatly at a great loss to know what could justify you in attacking citizens of the United States who are in the lawful performance of duties devolving upon them under the Constitution, in organizing and instructing the militia of the State in obedience to her laws, and therefore have been disposed to doubt the correctness of the information I have received. I would be glad to know from you personally whether there is any truth in the statements that are constantly poured into my ears.

'So far as regards any hostility being intended towards the United States, or its property or representatives, by any portion of my command, or, as far as I can learn (and I think I am fully informed), of any other part of the State forces, I can say positively that the idea has never been entertained. On the contrary,

prior to your taking command of the Arsenal, I proffered to Major Bell, then in command of the very few troops constituting its guard, the services of myself and all my command, and, if necessary, the whole power of the State to protect the United States in the full possession of all her property. Upon Gen. Harney's taking command of this department, I made the same proffer of services to him, and authorized his Adjutant General, Captain Williams, to communicate the fact that such had been done, to the War Department. I have had no occasion since to change any of the views I entertained at that time, neither of my own volition, nor through orders of my constitutional commander. I trust that after this explicit statement we may be able, by fully understanding each other, to keep far from our borders the misfortunes which so unfortunately afflict our common country.

'This communication will be handed to you by Colonel Bowen, my Chief of Staff, who will be able to explain anything not fully set forth in the foregoing.

'I am, sir, very respectfully your obed't servant,

Brig. Gen. D. M. FROST,

Commanding Camp Jackson, M. V. M.'

"Captain Lyon refused to receive this note. If he had done so, it would have destroyed the programme already resolved upon, and which looked to the capture of Camp Jackson, and the degradation of citizens *as loyal to the flag of the Union, as respectable in every sense, as brave and chivalric as Capt. Lyon, or any one of his advisers.* They were to be disgraced, in order to strike terror into the people of the State; and the flag of the Union which waved over Camp Jackson was to be struck in the presence of men, nine-tenths of whom were born under a foreign flag, and had grown up acknowledging allegiance to the worst and most despotic Governments of Europe."

Such is the contemporaneous vindication of Camp Jackson. It is probably all that could have been said in its defense. The reader of it, with no other knowledge of the current history of the period, would not hesitate to condemn "those malignant spirits" who planned and executed "the degradation of citizens as loyal to the flag of the Union, as respectable in every sense, as brave and chivalric, as Captain Lyon, or any one of his advisers." But, however the writer of that defense may, at the time, have believed his statements to be true,—which to me, I confess, seems very difficult, in view of the events which preceded the formation of that camp,—subsequent disclosures have established, beyond the possibility of question, that Camp Jackson was a treasonable assemblage, which required only some increase of strength to have been marched forth to subject Missouri to the domination of traitors, and whirl her off into the destroying abyss of secession.

Let us briefly glance at the march of events in Missouri preceding Camp Jackson.

On the 20th day of December, 1860, South Carolina—may one of the results of this war be, that that name be blotted out, and some other given to the territory it represents! on that day South Carolina declared her secession from the Union, the very formation of which the great historian of the United States, in a separate chapter, attributes directly to her. As she started on her fiery career, she flung abroad a blazing invitation to the people of the slaveholding States, to join her in forming a Confederacy of such States.

On the 30th day of December, 1860, the Legislature of Missouri met in regular session. Up to that day no response, so far as I now remember, had been heard in this State to South Carolina's demoniac cry.

The next day, however, the proposition was distinctly presented, editorially in the same public journal from which I have quoted the apology for Camp Jackson, that, in a certain contingency, Missouri should follow South Carolina's damning lead. Let us, as a part of the history of the time, record its words, addressed to the Legislature then just convened. They are as follows:

"We assume as a fact beyond dispute, that there is no considerable body of men in this State who desire the dissolution of the Union, for the causes which have up to this time been presented to the country. We maintain now, as we have always maintained, that [the people of] the Northern States have greatly wronged those of the slave States, and that those wrongs must be redressed before there can be any settlement of the issues between them—any restoration of those kindly feelings which ought to exist between brethren of the same political family. And hence it becomes the duty of the one party to ponder well upon the grievances of which they have cause of complaint, to submit them to the party which has oppressed them, and if they reject them, or treat them with contempt, thenceforward they will be justified in complete alienation from them. This position being admitted, it will be the duty of the Legislature of Missouri, we humbly submit, to take such steps as will, in the first place, secure the co-operation of the slave States in some definite plan of action, and then to carry out resolutely whatever may be agreed upon. As the first movement of this

political drama, it would well comport with the position of Missouri, to pass an act, at an early day of the session, calling a Convention of commissioners from all the slave States in the Union, at Baltimore, to consider and decide upon the matters in controversy, and to state explicitly the grievances and aggressions of the North, *to which such States will no longer submit.* The commission need not be a large one, say one from each electoral district, to be appointed by the Governor. His own sense of the responsibility of his position will dictate to him the propriety of selecting the ablest and purest men in the State—and he will do it. In the same act let provision be made for a State Convention to be elected and assembled on the call of the Governor, to consider such constitutional amendments as may be proposed by Congress for the settlement of all these difficulties; or, if all constitutional and patriotic expedients should be exhausted before *the 4th of March next*, THEN TO DECLARE A SEPARATION FROM THE STATES OF THE CONFEDERACY. A commission, such as we have suggested, selected for their wisdom, their regard for the rights of the States, so wantonly trifled with and invaded, coming from States representing the largest population and the most wealth, and which have suffered most from the aggressions of the North—would not fail to agree upon the propositions to be made to the adverse party, and there is every reason to believe that such propositions would be agreed to. *If they should not, then the alternative would remain, and the fifteen States would be justified in the eyes of the world in* DECLARING SEPARATION FOREVER."

Three days after the publication of these words, CLAIBORNE F. JACKSON was installed Governor of Missouri, and in his Inaugural Address said:

"The destiny of the slaveholding States of this Union is one and the same. *So long as the State con-*

tinues to maintain Slavery within her limits, it is impossible to separate her fate from that of her sister States who have the same social organization. * * * * Missouri will not be found to shrink from the duty which her position upon the border imposes; her honor, her interests, and her sympathies point alike in one direction, and determine her *to stand by the South.*"

On the 21st of January, 1861, the Legislature of Missouri passed an act providing for the election, by the people, of delegates to a State Convention; and such delegates were elected, in pursuance thereof, on the following 18th of February, and the body convened on the 28th of that month. Its composition sorely disappointed and vexed the traitors who, with diabolical intent, were plotting to drag Missouri into secession. On the 19th day of March, after mature deliberation, it gave a death-blow to all their hopes, by the adoption, with only one dissenting voice, of the following feeble, but effectual, expression of adhesion to the Union:

"*Resolved*, That at present there is no adequate cause to impel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the Federal Union; but on the contrary she will labor for such an adjustment of existing troubles, as will secure the peace, as well as the rights and equality, of all the States."

Here was such a declaration of the direct will of the people of Missouri, as should have silenced her traitors, at least until the Convention should have found the time, hinted at in the resolution, when there should be "adequate cause, to impel Missouri to dissolve her

connection with the Federal Union." But with a seditious and treacherous Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Legislature, it was not difficult to carry forward those schemes of treason which led on to Camp Jackson, and to all the untold horrors which have fallen upon the people of Missouri, since the day Camp Jackson fell. A few more links and the chain will be complete.

Sumter fell on the 14th of April, 1861. On the following day, President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 men to suppress the rebellion, which had opened its first batteries upon that ill-fated fortress; and on the same day the Secretary of War telegraphed to Governor Jackson a requisition upon Missouri for four regiments of troops.

Two days afterward that Governor replied to the Secretary in these words:

"Your dispatch of the 15th instant, making a call on Missouri for four regiments of men for immediate service has been received. There can be, I apprehend, no doubt but these men are intended to form part of the President's army to make war upon the people of the seceded States. Your requisition in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary; in its object inhuman and diabolical, and can not be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on any such unholy crusade."

The public journal previously quoted from laid before its readers this impudent and insurrectionary dispatch of Missouri's rebel Governor, with the following introduction:

"The *Journal*, of yesterday, published the following

as the response of Governor Jackson to the demand of Mr. President Lincoln for four regiments of men to aid in subjugating the revolutionary States. Nobody expected any other response from him, and the people of Missouri will indorse it. They may not approve of the early course of the Southern States, but they denounce and defy the action of Mr. Lincoln in proposing to call out 75,000 men for the purpose of coercing the seceded States of the Union. Whatever else may happen, he gets no men from the border States to carry on such a war."

The standard of revolt was thus fairly raised on the soil of Missouri. Her Governor resolved that she should "*stand by the South*," though her people, in Convention, had solemnly resolved to stand by the UNION. The issue, which brought such deep disaster to that people, was made up, and had to be decided. He determined to invoke the aid of the Legislature, elected in August, 1858, and August 1860, which he knew he could control, against the Convention elected in February, 1861, which he could not control. Five days after his contumacious reply to the Secretary, of War, he issued his proclamation, requiring the Legislature to convene on the 2d of May, "for the purpose of enacting such laws, and adopting such measures as may be deemed necessary and proper for the more perfect organization and equipment of the militia of this State, and to raise the money and such other means as may be required to place the State in a proper attitude of defense." And on the same day he issued a General Order, requiring the military companies throughout the State to go into camp on the 3d of

May, and ordering the light battery then attached to the Southwest battalion, and one company of mounted riflemen, including all officers and soldiers belonging to the First District (St. Louis county) to proceed forthwith to St. Louis, and report to General D. M. Frost for duty: all of which, in Governor Jackson's words, was "to attain a greater degree of efficiency and perfection in organization and discipline;" but in Governor Jackson's heart it was to sweep Missouri out of the Union, and into that bastard abortion—the Southern Confederacy. Under this order Camp Jackson was formed. The day before that assigned for its formation, the Legislature met under the Governor's proclamation, and received from him a message, in which he denounced the President's action in calling out 75,000 men, as "unconstitutional and illegal," and proclaimed his treason in the following words:

"The great patriotic State of Virginia, after having failed in all her efforts to re-adjust the Union, has, at last, yielded in despair, and seceded from the old Federal Union. North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, it is believed, will rapidly follow in the footsteps of Virginia; and Kentucky is profoundly moved in this great question. Our interests and our sympathies are identical with those of the slave-holding States, and necessarily unite our destiny with theirs. The similarity of our social and political institutions—our industrial interests—our sympathies, habits and tastes, our common origin and territorial contiguity, all concur in pointing out our duty in regard to the separation which is now taking place between the States of the old Federal Union. In the meantime, it is in my judgment, indispensable to our safety, that we should

emulate the policy of all the other States in arming our people, and placing the State in a proper attitude of defense."

Here, my friends, I close the historical summary of events *preceding* the formation of Camp Jackson. If its recital has interested you as much as its investigation did me, I am not without hope of having contributed to the triumph of truth in regard to the period which has been reviewed. Before proceeding to other facts, allow me a word in comment. I am grievously mistaken, if the historical facts which have been presented do not wholly overthrow the main points in the vindication of Camp Jackson, which I have just laid before you. I can not agree with the writer of that vindication in the position that there was, when he wrote, "no evidence to show that there was any object beyond these legitimate results (viz: improvement in military taatics, in health, and *esprit du corps*) in contemplation, when the order was given for the formation of Camp Jackson." In my judgment, the open historical evidence was then conclusive, and remains to this day, and must forever remain without any aid from any other quarter, invincibly conclusive, that there was an object in contemplation beyond those; and that that object was, to carry out in Missouri the same ferocious plan of compelling secession by armed force, which had been successfully practised already in some of the Southern States. I am willing to leave that point to the judgment of impartial history, upon the facts I have already presented, without reference to any yet to be mentioned.

True, as stated in the defense, that "not one order contained the most remote allusion to any other purpose than that of perfection of military discipline:" but who ever expected inchoate treason to advertise itself in military orders?

True, as stated there, that "the flag of the United States floated over the entire camp:" but it hung there, as it has since often been hung out by St. Louis Copperheads, to conceal their venomous perfidy to their too forbearing Government and country. May their remaining days in this city be "few and full of trouble!"

True, as stated there, that "no other national flag was *permitted* to be displayed:" but was no other there ready to be displayed, when the "proper moment" came, as you might probably now find hundreds of such flags in secesh habitations in this city, prepared to be thrown to the breeze "*when Price's army comes?*"

True, as stated there, that "the men who formed the encampment, each and all of them, had taken the oath to support the Constitution of the United States and of this State:" but what signifies a traitor's oath of loyalty? Is he not next of kin to the father of lies?"

But to proceed. Having shown the leading events which preceded the capture of Camp Jackson, let us now see what was *in* Camp Jackson. On this point I can do no better than present the official language of General HARNEY. He resumed command at St. Louis the day after the capture; and on the 14th of May issued a Proclamation to the People of Missouri, in which he used the following words:

"In this connection I desire to direct attention to one subject, which no doubt will be made the pretext for more or less popular excitement. I allude to the recent transactions at Camp Jackson, near St. Louis. It is not proper for me to comment upon the official conduct of my predecessor in command of this Department but it is right and proper for the people of Missouri to know that the main avenue of Camp Jackson, recently under command of General Frost, had the name of Davis, and a principal street of the same camp that of Beauregard; that a body of men had been received into that camp by its commander, which had been notoriously organized in the interests of the secessionists, the men openly wearing the dress and badge distinguishing the army of the so-called Southern Confederacy. It is also a notorious fact that a quantity of arms had been received into the camp, which were unlawfully taken from the United States arsenal at Baton Rouge, and surreptitiously passed up the river in boxes marked *marble*.

"Upon facts like these, and having in view what occurred at Liberty, the people can draw their own inferences, and it can not be difficult for any one to arrive at a correct conclusion as to the character and ultimate purpose of that encampment. No Government in the world would be entitled to respect, that would tolerate for a moment such open treasonable preparations."

True, fearless words! uttered by a veteran soldier, who saw the treason that lurked in Camp Jackson, and did not shrink from exposing it, though the commander of that camp was his near family connection! Is more needed to delineate the real character of that encampment? Not a word more: but the history is not yet complete. I must tax your time to present the

final and blasting proof, which, after the flight of Governor Jackson from our seat of Government, was, by a most remarkable accident, saved from the burnt and smoking mass of papers, which he committed to the flames, that the evidence of his treason, and that of his instruments throughout the State, might never rise in judgment against them.

You will remember the words of General Frost, addressed to Captain Lyon, in a letter written on the day of the capture, and embodied in the defense of Camp Jackson, previously presented. Hear them again:

"So far as regards any hostilities being intended towards the United States, or its property, or representatives, by any portion of my command, or as far as I can learn (and I think I am fully informed), of any other part of the State forces, *I can say positively that the idea has never been entertained.*"

It could hardly be believed that he who wrote thus on the 10th of May, had on the 15th of the previous month, addressed a letter to Governor Jackson, such as I am about to read to you, and which is the document that escaped the flames at Jefferson City. I would not trespass upon your time by presenting it entire, but that I see no part of it that could well be omitted, and I apprehend there are many thousands of the people of Missouri who have never seen it; for I believe I am right in saying that, though long since given to the world, *it has never been published in the public journal from which the defense of Camp Jackson was quoted.* This is the letter:

"ST. LOUIS, MO., April 15, 1861.

"*His Excellency C. F. Jackson, Gov. of Mo.:*

"SIR: You have doubtless observed by this morning's dispatches, that the President, by calling out seventy-five thousand of the militia of the different States into the service of the Government, proposes to inaugurate civil war on a comprehensive plan.

"Under the circumstances, I have thought it not inappropriate that I should offer some suggestions to your Excellency, in my capacity of commanding officer of the first military district.

"Presuming that Mr. Lincoln will be advised by good military talent, he will doubtless regard this place as next in importance, in a stragetic point of view, to Charleston or Pensacola. He will, therefore, retain at the Arsenal all of the troops now there, and augment it as soon as possible. The commanding officer of that place, as you are perhaps aware, has strengthened his position by the erection of numerous batteries on earth works. You are not, however, aware that he has recently put in position guns of a heavy calibre, to command the approaches to the city by the river, as well as heavy ten-inch mortars, with which he could at any moment bombard our town.

"If, therefore, he is permitted to go on strengthening his position, whilst the Government increases his force, it will be but a short time before he will have this town and the commerce of the Mississippi at his mercy. You will readily see how this complete possession and control of our commercial metropolis might, and in all probability would, affect any future action that the State might otherwise feel disposed to take.

"I fully appreciate the very delicate position occupied by your Excellency, and do not expect you to take any action or do anything not legal and proper to be done under the circumstances; but, nevertheless,

would respectfully suggest the following as both legal and proper, viz:

"1st. To call the Legislature together at once, for the purpose of placing the State in a condition to enable you to suppress insurrection or repel invasion.

"2d. To send an agent to the Governor of Louisiana (or further, if necessary), to ascertain if mortars and siege guns could be obtained from Baton Rouge, or other points.

"3d. To send an agent to Liberty, to see what is there, and put the people of that vicinity on their guard, to prevent its being garrisoned, as several companies of U. S. troops will be at Fort Leavenworth, from Fort Kearney, in ten or fifteen days from this time.

"4th. Publish a proclamation to the people of the State, warning them that the President has acted illegally in calling out troops, thus arrogating to himself the war-making power; that he has illegally ordered the secret issue of public arms (to the number of 5,000) to societies in the State, who have declared their intention to resist the constituted authorities whenever those authorities may adopt a course distasteful to them; and that they are, therefore, by no means bound to give him aid or comfort in his attempt to subjugate, by force of arms, a people who are still free; but, on the contrary, that they should prepare themselves to maintain all their rights as citizens of Missouri.

"5th. Authorize, or order, the commanding officer of the present military district, to form a military camp of instruction at or near the city of St. Louis, to muster military companies into the service of the State, to erect batteries, and do all things necessary and proper to be done to maintain the peace, dignity, and sovereignty of the State.

"6th. Order Colonel Bowen's whole command to proceed at once to the said camp and report to the commanding officer for duty.

"Doubtless, many things which ought to be done will occur to your Excellency which have not to me, and your Excellency may deem what I have suggested as improper or unnecessary. If so, I can only say, that I have been actuated solely by a sense of official duty in saying what I have, and will most cheerfully acquiesce in whatever course your Excellency may lay down for my government.

"I would not have presumed to have advised your Excellency, but for the fact that you were kind enough to express a desire to consult with me upon these subjects on your recent visit to this city.

"I am, sir, very respectfully, your obed't servant,

D. M. Frost, Brig. Gen.

Commanding 1st Mil. Dis't of Missouri."

Such was the programme sketched out by this Brigadier General of Missouri Militia—who, be it remembered, had "*taken the oath!*"—to accomplish the infamous purpose of forcing Missouri into rebellion, in open defiance of the solemn action of her Convention less than a month before he wrote! It was carried out in nearly every item, save that of issuing a proclamation. The Legislature was called together; a messenger was sent southward for arms, whose presence there for that purpose was announced, on the 3d of May, in a Southern newspaper; on the 20th of April the unguarded arsenal at Liberty, in Clay county, was delivered up, at the demand of citizens of that county; a military camp of instruction—in treason!—Camp Jackson, was formed on the spot where we are now assembled; Col. Bowen with his command was there; military companies were mustered into the service of the State; and time only

was wanting to enable them "to erect batteries, and do all things necessary and proper to be done to maintain the peace, dignity, and sovereignty of the State:" that is, to maintain her peace by plunging her into war; to stain her dignity with the blood of fratricidal conflict; and to prostitute her sovereignty to the destruction of that Union which alone gave her the least title to sovereignty!

The immediate object of intended attack in St. Louis was the Arsenal of the United States; then containing about sixty thousand stand of arms, with large accumulations of munitions of war; which, once in traitorous hands, would have furnished to the then unarmed rebels of Missouri, the means of overpowering at every point all resistance to their desperate designs. In all the history of the rebellion there can be found no instance of more infatuated audacity. To form an encampment within the very corporate limits of a city of hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants,—the commercial metropolis of a State which had pronounced its adherence to the Union,—with the design of employing her own citizen soldiery, armed with weapons partly furnished by, and partly stolen from, the nation of which they were citizens, to capture one of the nation's depots of arms, for the purpose of turning its contents against the nation's life, and at the same time to protest innocence of any knowledge or thought of any such devilish scheme, was certainly one of the most daring exhibitions of mingled folly, treason and falsehood, that the history of civilized nations records.

Had the Arsenal at that critical moment been under

the command of one whose devotion to the institution of Slavery had perverted his intellectual and moral faculties to a belief in the damnable heresy of paramount allegiance to some slave State, no mortal ken could have foretold the disaster to Missouri and the Union, which would have followed with lightning speed upon the establishment of Camp Jackson, if, indeed, it had not preceded it. But, my friends, you and I, and every inhabitant of our city and State, have reason for profound gratitude to Almighty God, that in his good providence an officer was there, whose allegiance to his country was not perverted by the miserable fooleries of State rights, whose eagle vision pierced through every traitorous disguise, whose bravery was equal to every emergency, and whose stern and steady adherence to duty defied all blandishments and all opposition. Let us bow with profound reverence at the name and memory of NATHANIEL LYON! Brief as was his career in the fiery scenes of this satanic rebellion, it was illustrious in his steadfast devotion to the flag of his country, brilliant in his achievements under its resplendent folds, and glorious in its termination on one of the consecrated fields of America's bloody conflict for her life. No brighter name will emerge from the smoke and tumult of this awful strife—no nobler record will be transmitted from this evil day to our posterity, reading the luminous history of America's triumph over her intestine foes, than that which tells that LYON gave his life for, and in his will bequeathed all his estate to, his country.

But let us not forget the "*malignant spirits*," who

"determined that Camp Jackson should be attacked, and the citizen soldiery taken prisoners of war." They, too, deserve our grateful remembrance. To their honor be it said, that if they were malignant, it was only against the enemies of their country, of their race, and of liberty. St. Louis may well be proud of such spirits, as all traitors have reason to fear them. Could this fiendish rebellion have been everywhere confronted in its inception by such, its life would have been short, and its destruction swift and sure.*

Nor let us be unmindful of the officers and soldiers, suddenly called and promptly rallying to the defense of their country's flag, who stood in stern array around Camp Jackson to enforce their Chief's demand for its surrender. Who were they? Whence came they? Almost to a man they were our own fellow-citizens of St. Louis, and *volunteers* for their country's defense, with hardly a battalion of regular troops among them.

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* Since the delivery of this Oration, I have learned that the omission to mention *by name* any of the parties who were stigmatized as "malignant spirits," has been objected to by friends of those parties. I feel confident that no one of the gentlemen in question would consider that injustice had been done him by the omission; and much more do I feel assured that no one of them would believe me capable of intentionally withholding the just need of praise due him for his part in the important transactions I was reviewing. The simple and only reason why I *named* no one but the lamented LYON was, that, as the whole responsibility of the occasion, to Government, people, and history, rested on him alone, so he alone was entitled to the credit of leading on the achievement. This view of the matter was suggested to me, while preparing the Oration, by a gentleman who held an important position, both advisory and executive, near the person of LYON, before and at the time of the capture. It seemed to me, not only magnanimous, but just, and I acted upon it in framing this passage of the discourse.

But "nine-tenths of them were born under a foreign flag, and had grown up acknowledging allegiance to the worst and most despotic governments of Europe;" and were *they* to be the instruments of "the degradation of citizens as loyal to the flag of the Union, as respectable in every sense, as brave and chivalric, as Captain Lyon, or any of his advisers?" My friends, I can not stop to discuss relative terms of commendation or reproach. Enough, for shame, that Americans by birth were false to their country and its flag; enough, for rejoicing and pride, that Americans by adoption were true to both. The former, though my brother by blood, is my enemy, and I am his; the latter, though an alien by birth, becomes my brother by the holier tie of a common devotion to our noble country. All honor then, say I, to the volunteer rank and file of the captors of Camp Jackson, and to the gallant officers under whom they marched on the 10th of May, eighteen hundred and sixty-one.

I suppose, my friends, that I might here close my words, without seeming to fail in a due performance of the service assigned me. But my sense of duty does not so permit. Bear with me, then, yet a little longer, while I present what seems to me a fit conclusion of this commemorative address.

You have listened to the history connected with Camp Jackson: let us now endeavor, with firm hand and steady heart, to portray the *significance* of Camp Jackson. It had an origin and a meaning, which no citizen of Missouri should fail to see and comprehend; and I should consider my duty unperformed, if I

omitted to exhibit that origin and meaning; and that I ought to be branded as a craven, if I shrunk from the effort to impress upon the minds of others the immovable convictions which have sunk, unsought and unforced, into my own.

Camp Jackson was not a mere manifestation of insurrectionary spirit against the Constitution and Government of the Union. That Constitution had brought only blessings to the citizen soldiers there assembled—the hand of that Government had rested on them, only with a paternal touch. Not one of them could probably have been lured or forced into a revolt against the latter, for the sole purpose of resisting its authority; much less into an assault upon the former, wantonly to destroy it. To assume the possibility of either, would be to pronounce them born devils, intent, for its own sake, on a work of destruction, such as the universe never saw attempted since Lucifer struck at the throne of God. No: they were moved by a far different spirit, and were bent upon an object, which could be attained only by the overthrow of both Government and Constitution, and therefore they were ready to assail both. Let me unfold that object, in the light of a brief historical review of what has been done in the name of Missouri, in regard to the institution of Slavery.

As you are all aware, Missouri was brought into the family of the Union through a great conflict, growing out of her being a slaveholding State. The ferment attending that event led to the incorporation in her Constitution of provisions intended to fasten Slavery

upon her permanently, and to preclude the agitation by her people, at any after period, of the question of its removal from her limits. The Constitution provided thus :

"The General Assembly shall have no power to pass laws—

"*First*, For the emancipation of slaves, without the consent of their owners, or without paying them, before such emancipation, a full equivalent for such slaves so emancipated; and,

"*Second*, To prevent *bona fide* emigrants to this State, or actual settlers therein, from bringing from any of the United States, or from any of their Territories, such persons as may there be deemed to be slaves, so long as any persons of the same description are allowed to be held as slaves by the laws of this State."

Under the influence of these provisions, and of a large immigration from other slave States, Slavery remained predominant in Missouri, and no attempt was made to lead her people to consider whether it was their interest to retain it. In the progress of years the political power of Slavery began to develop itself in the country. From standing on the defensive, it assumed the aggressive, in connection with the question of its extension, with special reference to the outlying Territories of the Union. The right of Congress to pass any law prohibiting it there, came to be questioned, after an acquiescence in it, in every section, for many years. In 1849, the Legislature of this State under the lead of the same Claiborne F. Jackson, from whose deeds as Governor we have so deeply suffered, passed a series of "*Resolutions on the subject*

of Slavery," ever since known by his name; in which the ground was assumed that "any organization of the territorial governments, excluding the citizens of any part of the Union from removing to such territories with their property, would be an exercise of power, by Congress, inconsistent with the spirit upon which our Federal compact was based, insulting to the sovereignty and dignity of the States thus affected, calculated to alienate one portion of the United States from another, and tending ultimately to disunion;" and in connection with this avowal with one more significant, concerning the relations of Missouri to the other slave States, in these terms:

"That in the event of the passage of any act of Congress conflicting with the principles herein expressed, *Missouri will be found in hearty co-operation with the slaveholding States, in such measures as may be deemed necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of Northern fanaticism.*"

In the light of subsequent history, we see now, what Missouri's great Senator, THOMAS H. BENTON, saw then—that those resolutions were a part of the scheme of disunion, which was then shaping itself in the South, and was so clearly seen by Mr. CALHOUN to be approaching its execution, that in commenting, in the Senate, upon President TAYLOR'S reference to the Union, in his first and only annual message, he used these noted words:

"It [the Union] can not then be saved by eulogies upon it, however splendid or numerous. The cry of '*Union, Union, the glorious Union!*' can no more prevent disunion, than the cry of '*Health, Health,*

glorious Health!' on the part of a physician can save a patient from dying that is lying dangerously ill."

From the date of the adoption of the Jackson Resolutions, but more especially from that of the subsequent defeat of Col. BENTON'S re-election to the Senate, at the expiration of a continuous service there of thirty years, Missouri seemed bound hand and foot to the South and to Slavery forever. And as if to make this doubly sure, the Legislature, eight years later, sought to crush the idea of *Emancipation*—then beginning to find expression among us—by the adoption of another resolution, which, with its preamble, was as follows:

"WHEREAS, circumstances have rendered it necessary, and it is due to the constituent body of our fellow-citizens of the State of Missouri, that the Legislature of the State should give an unequivocal expression of opinion in regard to the subject of the emancipation of the slaves in the State:

"*Be it therefore resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri*, That the emancipation of the slaves held as property in this State would be not only impracticable, but that any movement having such an object in view would be inexpedient, impolitic, unwise, and unjust, and should in the opinion of this General Assembly, be discountenanced by the people of the State."

This resolution was passed in the Senate by a vote of 25 to 4, and in the House of Representatives by a vote of 107 to 12; six to one in the former—nine to one in the latter! It was intended to throttle Emancipation in its cradle, and to rivet and clinch Slavery upon our people with an eternal clamp.

Here, my friends, I can not resist the impulse to digress for a moment, to bring into view and proclaim the names of those four Senators and twelve Representatives, who, against such enormous odds, bravely wrote down on the records of their State their dissent from that sweeping blast against Emancipation. With two exceptions, they represented St. Louis County in that General Assembly. Let no frail memory of the people forget to honor the deed, or cease to bear in recollection that it was done by Senators HENRY T. BLOW, ROBERT HOLMES, CHARLES S. RANNELLS, and JOHN D. STEVENSON, and by Representatives BARTON ABLE, THOS. J. ALBRIGHT, B. GRATZ BROWN, PATRICK E. BURKE, HENRY A. CLOVER, FRANKLIN A. DICK, BENJAMIN FARRAR, SAMUEL H. GARDNER, JESSE JENNINGS, of Taney, MADISON MILLER, JAMES O. SITTON, of Gasconade, and LEWIS WINKELMAIER.

Resuming the thread of history, we find that on the 12th of January, 1861, twenty-three days after South Carolina's ordinance of secession was passed, and while the roar of the secession tornado was resounding through the whole South, a meeting was held at the Court House in this city, which will be remembered as among the largest ever seen in this community. Its great magnitude, the expression it made concerning matters of incomparable importance at that critical juncture, and the unhappy influence it exerted throughout this State, entitle it to a prominent position in the history of that period. It was heralded as a *Union* meeting; but God save us from such Unionism as it inculcated! Passing by, as mere chaff, its empty pro-

fessions of attachment to the Union, it is sufficient for the present occasion to exhume from its dead and buried proceedings a single resolution, as indicative of a then living and unshaken purpose to hold Missouri fast to Slavery, even if it led her into secession. No one who was known or suspected to be in favor of *Coercion*, as it was then opprobriously called,—that is, of sustaining the Government and Constitution, by every possible means and to the utmost extremity, against the destruction then threatening them,—was permitted to participate in the private preparations for the action of that meeting; all of which were arranged in secret, by men whose deep and unscrupulous disloyalty afterwards became manifest; some of whom, early in the rebellion, betrayed their country's cause for that of Slavery, by taking up arms in the rebel service, where, if yet living, they are still engaged. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that in such hands, the meeting became—what it never would have become, if the people of St. Louis had been advised of its real design—a powerful instrument of traitorous mischief in Missouri. How it became so, you will have no difficulty in perceiving when I recall to your recollection that one of its resolutions was the following:

"That the possession of slave property is a constitutional right, and as such ought to be ever recognized by the Federal Government. That if the Federal Government shall fail and refuse to secure this right, *the Southern States should be found united in its defense, in which event* MISSOURI WILL SHARE THE COMMON DUTIES AND COMMON DANGER OF THE SOUTH."

This was, in effect, a revival in St. Louis of the

Jackson Resolutions of 1849. It was the very embodiment of Southern sophistry, imperiousness, and treason. It opens with the utterly unfounded and fallacious dogma, that the possession of slave property is a "*constitutional right,*" if reference is made to the Constitution of the United States; for that nowhere *confers*, but only *recognizes*, that right. It proceeds to declare the obligation of the Federal Government to recognize that right; but as if, on "sober second thought," that was not enough, it next impliedly, but with all the force of a direct affirmation, declares the *duty* of that Government "to *secure* this right;" when no man lives who can find in the National Constitution one word enjoining such a duty, except in regard to fugitive slaves; to which it is impossible reference could have been intended, because there then stood upon the statute books of the nation the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which had been prepared for and dictated to, Congress, by the most radical, exacting, and overbearing champions of Slavery that the Southern States had ever sent to that body. And, finally, it closes with an undoubted committal of Missouri to secession, if the National Government refused or failed to perform this duty, which it was under no constitutional obligation to perform, except in the single particular of fugitive slaves, and for which, beyond that point, it had no semblance of constitutional power! And this is what the people of St. Louis were by adroit management led to say; but what they never would have said, had they in any degree understood the plot then thickening around them.

We need not be surprised to find that immediately after this demonstration in St. Louis, the Legislature of this State, in February, 1861, by a solemn resolution—prompted, no doubt, as it was officially approved, by Governor Jackson, and adopting the policy which his resolutions, twelve years before, had foreshadowed—bound Missouri, so far as that body could bind it, to revolt against the Government of the United States and to disunion. Attend to this last expression of Missouri's legislative traitors against their country, for the sake of Slavery:

"WHEREAS, We have learned, with profound regret, that the States of New York and Ohio have recently tendered men and money to the President of the United States, for the avowed purpose of coercing certain sovereign States of the South, which have seceded, or may secede from the Federal Union, into obedience to the Federal Government; therefore,

"*Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring therein*, That we regard with the utmost abhorrence the doctrine of coercion, as indicated by the action of the States aforesaid, believing that the same would result in civil war, and forever destroy any hope of reconstructing the Federal Union. So believing, we deem it our duty to declare, *that if there is any invasion of the* SLAVE STATES, for the purpose of carrying such doctrines into effect, it is the opinion of this General Assembly that the people of Missouri will instantly rally on the side of their Southern brethren, to resist the invaders at all hazards and to the last extremity."

Thus ends the historical review, which was necessary to the proper understanding, in this day and in the future, of the origin and significance of Camp Jackson.

In the light of the facts, as presented, I reiterate, that the formation of that camp proceeded from no mere hostility to the Constitution and Government of the Union; nor did it spring from any mischievous impulse for the mere sake of mischief; nor did it express any form of passionate popular outbreak; nor yet was it the offspring of any need or purpose to redress any grievance, or to avenge any wrong done in the name or by the authority of the United States, to the State of Missouri, or to any part of her people. In the name of Heaven, then, it may be asked, if it proceeded from none of these, what did it proceed from? My friends, look at the facts—at the formal declarations of the Legislature of Missouri and the words of Governor Jackson, as I have laid them before you; at his refusal of a single soldier to defend the Union against the rebellious and savage assault of the aristocracy of Southern Slavery, while, at the same instant, he called the militia of Missouri to arms; at the steady and overbearing effort of forty years to tie Missouri and Slavery together in indestructible bonds; at the solemn resolve that she should, in spite of her own declared will, make common cause with the South, on the ground that "*the destiny of the slaveholding States of this Union is one and the same:*" look at these things, and say if in the whole wide field of human research or conjecture, you can find any other origin of Camp Jackson than in THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY—any other significance than that of a fierce and deliberate purpose to join the Southern aristocracy in their hellish attempt to strike down our glorious

heritage of Freedom, for the sake of rearing over its ruins a bloody, aggressive, and relentless EMPIRE OF SLAVERY! This great truth concerning Southern treason should never for one moment be lost sight of. It struggled into the view of the people of Missouri through the heavy clouds of life-long association with, and attachment to, the "peculiar institution;" but it has emerged, at last, into the clear open sky, and shines into every habitation where Slavery is not enshrined as a household god, and into every mind which has not become hopelessly abject in its devotion to that god. The scales have fallen from the eyes of tens of thousands of that people—nay, from those of a vast majority—and they see, with startled gaze, that they have nursed in their bosom the only viper that could ever have inflicted upon them such deadly wounds, as have caused them for two long and terrible years to bleed at every pore. And they will never unlearn that truth. Every day disseminates it more widely, and makes it more powerful. As well attempt to roll back the Mississippi to its source, as to stem the mighty swell of that enfranchised opinion, which, throughout Missouri, presses home upon Slavery all the woes and tears, the ravages and dismay, which have made these two years hideous and insufferable to her people.

And, praised be God! with the growth of that liberated opinion has come the high and steady purpose that Missouri shall be liberated from her long thralldom to Slavery. We have borne and suffered enough from it and for it. Her people do not now believe—even if they ever did—what their Legislature declared in

1857, that "the emancipation of the slaves would be impracticable;" much less do they believe that "any movement having such an object in view, would be inexpedient, impolitic, unwise, and unjust, and should be discountenanced." On the contrary, they are resolved not only to make such a movement, but to make it so that it shall never be unmade. The power of their will makes itself felt in all places, high and low. Our Provisional Governor, who opened his Administration, in August, 1861, with the proclamation that his selection for that office would "satisfy all that no countenance would be afforded to ANY SCHEME or to ANY CONDUCT calculated in any degree to interfere with the institution of slavery existing in the State, and that to THE VERY UTMOST EXTENT OF EXECUTIVE POWER, THAT INSTITUTION WOULD BE PROTECTED," now calls the State Convention together, "to consult and act upon the subject of the EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES," because—and I thank him for the change!—he considers it "of the highest importance to the interests of the State that some scheme of Emancipation should be adopted." And mark you, when that body assembles, there will be no more "killing Emancipation at the first pop!" The subject will be discussed in all its bearings, freely and fearlessly; and my confidence is that "*some* scheme of Emancipation *will* be adopted." And yet it may be defeated there; but woe to them by whom it is defeated. The people will not quietly submit to the thwarting of their will in 1863, by a body elected in 1861. If this Convention fails them, they will have another that will not.

The time has gone by when a batch of leaders can control them on this subject. The conviction is universal, that there is no more peace, and consequently no more prosperity, for our State, while Slavery sits firm on our soil, to kindle anew every day the fires of civil strife, and invite perpetual incursions from the South. They have been compelled to do their own fighting, and hereafter they will do their own voting, too. Let him who dares disregard their will concerning Emancipation! The Car of Juggernaut never rolled over its self-immolating devotee with more deadly crush, than will the public opinion of Missouri over every man that ventures that experiment. Let men idolize and cling to Slavery as they please, Emancipation in Missouri is already decreed: the Convention has only to record the decree. Not by some feeble scheme, winding up in the Twentieth Century; but by some wise, equitable and well-considered plan, worthy of humanity and of statesmanship, which shall bring to *this* generation, through Emancipation, some recompense for the horrible ills it has endured through Slavery. Let this be done, and, with God's blessing, all will yet be well with us and with our children!

REPLY

TO THE MISSOURI REPUBLICAN.

[The publication of the Oration on "Camp Jackson, its History and Significance," caused the appearance, the next day, in the editorial columns of the *Missouri Republican*, of an attack on Mr. Drake; which he considered it his duty to reply to; and it is deemed not inappropriate that the Reply should be embraced in this volume, in connection with that which led to the attack.]

MR. N. PASCHALL, *Editor of the Mo. Republican:*

SIR: You would hardly expect, nor would the community, that the bitter personal attack upon me in the leading editorial article of the *Republican* of Wednesday, should pass unnoticed by me. I shall notice it and you, in such a manner as duty to *the public* seems to me to require; not because I have the least need to vindicate myself before the people of St. Louis from such aspersions as those with which you have deliberately severed the ties of many years' association and friendship. Though I may have no "celebrity," and though for of whatever "notoriety" I possess, I may, as you claim, be indebted to the *Missouri Republican*, you will probably find that I have a foundation of *character* here, which will withstand this assault, or any

that the *Republican* may hereafter make. If I have not, truly the best years of my life have been lived here in vain.

In one respect, Sir, I shall not imitate your course toward me. You denounce me for the Oration which I delivered last Monday, but do not publish it, so that your readers may judge between us. *You did not relish the resuscitation there of the Republican's history, which fidelity to truth required.* In this reply I shall not follow your example, by withholding from those who may read my words the opportunity at the same time of reading yours. I have no record which I fear should be brought to light, nor do I shrink from telling the world what is said against me. You shall, therefore, have all the benefit here of every word of it. Here it is:

"MR. CHARLES D. DRAKE.

"For whatever of position this gentleman may have in this community, we think it may safely be assumed he is indebted to the sustaining influence and exertions of this paper in his behalf; and hence the public who are alive to this fact, will be surprised at the bitterness of invective in which he indulged in his Oration at Camp Jackson grounds last Monday. We are not going to open the wounds scarcely cicatrized, nor to discuss the propriety of the military movements originated by Mr. (now Gen.) F. P. Blair, whose name, strangely enough, was scarcely heard in the proceedings of Monday, for the simple reason that he is not now radical enough for the time, and is in the field fighting the battles of his country, while those who are politically opposed to him are using *his* thunder to destroy him. When this civil war has been brought

to an end, and time and history have done their office in recording all the facts connected with the rebellion, and the incidents preceding and growing out of it—when to each party and every individual engaged in it, whether high or low, in civil or military life—is assigned his particular place in the grand drama which has convulsed the Union—those who come after us will be better prepared to understand the motives and the actions of men. Here we leave this branch of the subject, only to recur to Mr. Drake himself. This gentleman, as we have said above, is more indebted to us for the notoriety—it would be a misnomer to call it celebrity—which he enjoys, than all other causes combined. When those who are now petting him were cursing him, and heaping epithets of the most opprobrious character upon him, in the spirit of persistent friendship we came to his rescue and defended him from their reproaches. Whenever an opportunity offered to advance his interests, none were more prompt to do it. Confessedly the most unpopular man in St. Louis, politically, professionally, and socially, this did not prevent us from interposing our influence in his behalf, and when, three or four years ago, he was, by our assistance, elected to the Legislature—the only place of trust he ever acquired directly from the people—he had not been in his seat a month before he broke down under the weight of his own measures of social reform, and he was only *tolerated* for the remainder of the session. The *Democrat*, now fulsome in its praise of him, then ridiculed and denounced him unmercifully. The German press, now referring to him complacently, never alluded to his course in the Legislature except in language of abuse to which there was no license. Those with whom he is now hobnobbing, and is apparently on the best terms of social intercourse, were then held up by him to public ridicule for their Sunday diversions, and their wives and

daughters presented in the most revolting situations. The debates on this subject between Mr. Drake and Mr. Kribben, can hardly be forgotten by those who read them at the time. That session of the legislature unhorsed Mr. D. as a politician forever, and although he has since sought place, even that of Senator in Congress, nobody has yet been found willing to hazard his reputation by putting him in nomination. Changing from party to party until he has run through the whole catalogue and become a Charcoal, his accession has always been the signal for defeat and disaster, and the Charcoals themselves may well tremble for their success hereafter. Faithless to his friends, it is not surprising that distrust of his motives should follow his every movement. Disappointed in all the aspirations of a selfish ambition—*a failure in everything*—it is not to be wondered at that he hardened his heart, and become callous to all the impulses of a high-minded gentleman and Christian. We quit him here."

Can it be, Mr. PASCHALL, that no sense of shame, no twinge of conscience, disturbed you while you penned those ungracious words? Is it possible that you did not perceive how open they laid you to retort? Is it, indeed, true that your usual good sense has, in your advanced years, forsaken you? I will not bandy epithets with you; but I may be permitted respectfully to suggest, that if that editorial indicates the amount of candor, truthfulness, and sagacity, which is hereafter to characterize the *Republican*, it were well for those interested in its publication to consider the expediency of your retirement to the shades of private life. The *loyal* citizens of St. Louis have long had a very definite opinion on that point, which may have found some little

expression at Camp Jackson last Monday. Perhaps that was the sting of that day to you, Mr. PASCHALL.

You assume in the outset, that the public will "be surprised at the bitterness of invective in which I indulged in my oration at Camp Jackson grounds last Monday." What "bitterness of invective" did I indulge in there, Mr. PASCHALL? Against the *Missouri Republican*, or you, or any one connected with it? Not a word of such can be found in the Oration. I mentioned your paper historically and respectfully; my invective was against *the traitors* in Camp Jackson two years ago. That invective you resent. Do you thereby intend to affirm, or admit, that there was at that time in Camp Jackson any one connected with the *Republican*, who deserved that title? I did not so affirm; but have you not impliedly done so, by resenting my invective against the traitors there? Or do you mean to be understood, at this day and in this city, as defending those traitors still, as you did immediately after their capture? If you do, I can only pity the infatuation which still binds you to an ignoble and desperate cause.

Whether I am "indebted to the sustaining influence and exertions" of the *Republican* "for whatever position I may have in this community," I leave to that community to say. I have endeavored to lead in St. Louis an upright life. If, in the estimation of her people, I have done so, I needed not the *Republican's* "influence and exertions," or those of any other paper, to give me "position;" if I had not, and the *Republican*, notwithstanding, wielded its influence to give me "position" of which I was unworthy, what shall be

said of the *Republican*, and of you, its editor? But, Sir, no human being in this city believes, or ever will believe, that your paper has given me the standing I now occupy, whatever it may be, in this city. All I have gained here, socially or professionally, I have labored for through many years of toilsome devotion to duty. For you to claim to have given me position here, only makes people who know you and me laugh at you, Mr. PASCHALL.

But, Sir, when and where were "the sustaining influence and exertions" of your paper put forth on my behalf for *my* sake? Acknowledging many acts of kindness received from the *Republican*, I affirm that all the influence it ever exerted to give me position, was exerted that *your own* views and plans in regard to public affairs, and the prosperity of the paper you conducted, might be better promoted. You sustained me as long as I sustained you—not a moment before, not a moment after; and you did it in order more effectually to sustain *yourself*. For your paper, as many well know, I have first and last, performed many months of gratuitous, exhausting, and, to you, ever acceptable labor, of which the world knew nothing, except as it appeared in your *editorial* columns, and augmented their influence over your readers. That those labors were not without direct and lasting benefit to you, no man living knows better than yourself; that their benefit to me, if any, was only incidental, *never pecuniary*, no man knows better than I do. If the *Republican* helped to give me position, I helped to give it position. You profit substantially every day by my past efforts

on your behalf, put forth at one period, as you well know, when you were reduced to positive bankruptcy; I profit not one penny by the position which you imagine you have given me.

You claim a credit to yourself, in no sense your due, when you use the following words:

"When those who are now petting him were cursing him, and heaping epithets of the most opprobrious character upon him, in the spirit of a persistent friendship we came to his rescue, and defended him from their reproaches."

No such state of things has at any time existed during my residence in this city, except in connection with my service in the Legislature; and my memory fails to recall one line in the *Republican* defending me then. You are not accustomed, Mr. PASCHALL, as this community knows, to espouse the cause of a *falling* man, or to identify your paper with an "unhorsed politician." If, however, you came to my rescue at that period, it was not because you remembered kindly that I had, to the extent of my ability, come to your aid in the days of your adversity, nor because you cared a straw what befell *me;* but because it suited your purpose as a partisan editor, to sustain one who belonged to your own party, and whose overthrow could confer no benefit upon that party, but perhaps injury.

But in spite of all the "position" you have conferred upon me, it seems that I am "confessedly the most unpopular man in St. Louis, politically, professionally, and personally!" How poorly, Mr. PASCHALL, that

fact, if true, speaks for your influence and that of your paper in this city! Is it possible that all your efforts to write me *up*, have only resulted in writing me *down?* If so, am I under obligations to you for your "persistent friendship?" But you did not talk or think that way, when, in 1859, in order to secure a Democratic triumph, you induced me, against my inclination, and to the serious injury of my private interests, to suffer myself to be announced as a candidate for the Legislature, only four days before the election; much less when I beat my competitor more than 1,800 votes! Still, it may be true *now;* and if it is, I can only say that at no period of my life has popularity been my aim. I desire the approbation of my fellow-citizens; but only so far as it may be earned by an honest and steady adherence to what I believe to be right, regardless of personal consequences to myself; and I think the people of St. Louis *believe* this of me, whether I am popular with them or not. Do they believe so of you, Mr. PASCHALL?

Prominent among your flings at me is, that "changing from party to party until I have run through the whole catalogue, and become a Charcoal, my accession has always been the signal for defeat and disaster." If this be true, Mr. PASCHALL, pray how has it been with you and the *Republican?* We were *together*, Sir, from 1834 to 1861. Were the defeats and disasters of the parties with which we were connected, and for which we jointly labored, during those twenty-seven years, *all* owing to me, a private citizen, and none to you, the editor of a widely-circulated and powerful

journal? You did not say or think this, in August, 1860, when you introduced my Victoria speech, in favor of Mr. DOUGLAS to your readers, as the very ablest campaign document ever produced in this country, and announced that you would print 50,000 copies of it, in pamphlet form, for sale; nor in November following, when as I believe, largely through the instrumentality of that speech, Missouri was found to be the only State in the Union that gave an electoral vote to Mr. DOUGLAS, except the fractional vote he received in New Jersey.

In fact, Mr. PASCHALL, it is only since December, 1860, that you have discovered my unpopularity. On the 31st of that month—as I showed in the Oration last Monday—you shocked the loyal portion of this community beyond expression, by committing the *Republican* to the cause of Secession. No man in St. Louis felt the shock more keenly than I did; for, for nearly two months before the Presidential election in November, your editorial columns received almost daily from me contributions attacking Secession and defending the Union, into which I threw all the power of my mind, all the vigor of my pen, and all the force of the undying love for the Union, which then, as now, fired my whole nature. And more than this. The Victoria speech, which you extolled so highly, exposed in advance the very scheme of disunion which South Carolina carried out on the 20th of December. In the face of all this, on the 31st of that month, the *Republican* stood before the world the advocate of the secession of Missouri! I felt at the time almost as if hell had yawned

before me. From that day our paths have diverged, never, I suppose, to meet again. You took your stand against your country—I took mine for it. You struck hands with traitors—I have fallen into association with those, between whom and myself there had previously been sharp political antagonism. I have not stopped for an instant to inquire whether the *Democrat* had "ridiculed and denounced" me, nor whether the German press had used toward me "language of abuse." All I sought to know was, where the friends of my country and the defenders of the Union could be found; and never, since that day, have I found or heard of one connected with the editorial management of the *Republican*. Nor have I ever stopped to inquire whether I am popular with the Union men of St. Louis. Having never asked, and never intending to ask, the least favor at their hands, or those of the people of Missouri,—*it being especially* FALSE *that I have sought to be Senator in Congress*,—the question of my popularity is the very last that has engaged my attention. I am not, however, unaware that with traitors and *Missouri Republican* Unionists I am unpopular: and God forbid it should ever be otherwise! Such unpopularity I joyfully accept, as the highest evidence that I have done something for my country—the richest treasure of my remaining years, the most precious legacy I can bequeath to my children. Can you, dare you, Mr. PASCHALL, say as much of the popularity you receive at their hands.

There was a wondrous temerity, as well as most egregious folly, in your attack upon me. You forgot

that the record of the *Republican* since the 31st of December, 1860, is written indelibly in the memory of the loyal people of St. Louis, and that my course during that period is well known to them. You forgot that not only did you on that day sound the first secession blast heard in Missouri, in response to South Carolina's fiendish invocation to the slave States; but for months after that day, and until the apprehension of the suppression of the *Republican* by military power overcame your real impulses, and compelled you to assume the mask of a thin and perfidious loyalty, that sheet was the most artful and dangerous enemy the National Government and the Union had in the whole Valley of the Mississippi. You forgot, what I do not forget, that its columns were loaded from day to day with everything, original and selected, which tended to impair the confidence of the people in the Government, and weaken their attachment for the Union and their faith in its triumph over its enemies. You forgot that the frown of the *Republican* was upon every man believed to be *unconditionally* loyal, while its smiles were radiant upon those known to be feeble and shaky Unionists, or traitors in heart; so that, at last, no man's reputation for sincere and earnest loyalty survived your praise. You forgot that the *Republican* became the organ of every exaggerated complaint which open traitors or skulking bushwhackers and their friends, throughout the State, wished to pour into the public ear, against the efficient action of the military forces, pursuing them to their overthrow. You forgot that the monster meeting at the Court House in this city,

on the 12th of January, 1861, which, with hollow pretensions of Unionism, was in reality a *secession* demonstration, was *your* work, called by you, managed by your influence, and glorified by you in the *Republican*. You forgot the *Republican's* denouncement and defiance of President Lincoln's call, after the bombardment of Sumter, for 75,000 men to suppress the rebellion, your commendation of Governor Jackson for his refusal of Missouri's quota of four regiments under that call, and your impudent declaration that the people of Missouri would indorse that refusal. You forgot that the *Republican* gave unmistakable evidence of gratification at the Bull Run disaster to the army of the Union. You forgot its insane fury over the suppression, by military force, of that treasonable sheet, the *Missouri State Journal*. But why should I undertake to enumerate the atrocious sins of the *Republican*, since December, 1860, against the Constitution, the Union, and the Government, as well as against loyalty, patriotism, and truth? Are they not history, which can never be erased? Are they not held in public remembrance, with a tenacity which only the lapse of many years can weaken? They make such a record against you, Mr. PASCHALL, and against the *Republican*, as I would not have against me, for the payment down to-day, of a sum of money equal to the anticipated profits of the *Republican* office for a hundred years to come. The thirty pieces of silver for which Judas Iscariot betrayed his Lord, did not keep down the pangs of remorse, under which "he went and hanged himself."

There is, however, Mr. PASCHALL, one sin lying at your door, which I owe to the public and to the cause of historic truth to make a distinct mention of. In my address last Monday, I stated that I believed I was right in saying that the letter of General Frost to Governor Jackson, which I then read, had never been published in the columns of the *Republican*. Your reporter, in his account of the proceedings on that day, said that statement was "at war with the truth of history—said letter having appeared in the columns of the *Republican* on several occasions." It has since been stated to me, that during the late session of the Legislature of this State, in February perhaps, R. F. WINGATE, Esq., incorporated that letter in a speech he delivered there, which was published in your paper. If that information is correct, you are entitled to the benefit of it, such as it is, and I give it to you here. But, Sir, there is a wide difference between publishing such a document, as a matter of public information, at the time it comes to light, and publishing it in somebody's speech eighteen months afterward. I charge you, Mr. PASCHALL, with deliberately keeping that letter out of the *Republican*, as an item of information to your readers, from the day it transpired to this, with the intention that those who had read your vindication of Camp Jackson, in May, 1861, should never learn through your agency of the existence of a document, which proved that vindication false in its essential features, as you could not help knowing it to be when you wrote it. You will not forget, Sir, a conversation on the street between you and myself about that letter,

when it appeared in the other papers of this city. I asked you why you did not publish it in the *Republican?* You replied—"*I have no quarrel with General Frost!*" And when I urged that that was not the question, and that the letter ought to be published there, as an important part of the history of the day, you replied again—"*Well, I don't like the way they got possession of it!*" And these were the reasons you assigned, with steady face, for withholding from your readers, so far as your silence could, all knowledge of that document! This single fact, sir, should damn your paper in the eyes of all patriots and all honest men; as I well know its promulgation will exalt and glorify you in those of Copperheads and traitors.

And now, sir, in conclusion, I recommend you to a more careful study of your position and that of the *Republican*, in this city and State. Realize, if you can, that you are both on the *down-hill* grade. The secession cause, which you espoused on the 31st of December, 1860, and have never since, in heart, abandoned for a moment, whatever may have been the outward seeming of your paper, is going down, *down*, DOWN! and take heed that you do not go down with it! You have not breathed one truly loyal breath, nor has one truly loyal number of your paper been published, since that day. Had justice been meted out to the *Republican*, as it was to the *Journal* and the *Herald*, it would long since have been suppressed, and you, perhaps, again a bankrupt. You owe, this day, a life-long debt of gratitude to the military authorities for their forbearance. You have done more to excite and

foster treason and disloyalty in Missouri than any hundred men in it; for you governed an engine of tremendous power. There is an immeasurable distance between the evil you have done, and the good you might have done, with it. Had you, after the election of Mr. Lincoln, kept the same high ground of devotion to the Union, which you suffered me to take in your columns before that event, how noble and exalted would have been your position, how full of blessing to your country, and how much bloodshed would have been saved in Missouri, whose stain, I greatly fear, is on *your* skirts!

You, Mr. PASCHALL, have long wielded a potent influence in Missouri; but it can reach patriots no more. The time is past when the *Republican* can write any loyal man down, or any disloyal man up. I neither fear its hostility nor court its favor. I will go on my way, combating treason and disloyalty, traitors and Copperheads, falsehood and hypocrisy, come what may to me. You may go on yours, denouncing me, and those like me in devotion to country; ignoring every noble development of patriotism; giving conspicuousness to all insidious incitements to disloyalty; striking at all who do not cling to Slavery in its damnable crusade against the Union and Liberty; chuckling over "the killing of Emancipation at the first pop:" and sneering at every prayerful appeal of an afflicted people to the Throne of Mercy for the overthrow of this savage rebellion: but all will come to an end ere long, and our respective records of life will be closed, and passed to the

Judgment-seat on high. Mine, I trust, will be that of one who strove with his best ability and truest heart to be a patriot. Have you no fears, Mr. PASCHALL, that yours may be that of an able, wily, and unscrupulous TRAITOR?

C. D. DRAKE.

ST. LOUIS, May 14, 1863.

SPEECH AT CHICAGO.

On the 2d day of June, 1863, a Mass Convention assembled in the City of Chicago, to promote the construction of a Ship Canal connecting the waters of Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River. On the afternoon of that day, the Convention having no business ready for its action, a motion was made by a member from Iowa, that the remainder of the afternoon session should be occupied in hearing remarks from distinguished gentlemen present; which motion was carried. Gen. HIRAM WALBRIDGE, of New York, was first called upon, and addressed the Convention for a short time.

At the conclusion of his remarks, there were loud calls for Mr. DRAKE, who appeared upon the stand, and was introduced by the President of the Convention, Hon. HANNIBAL HAMLIN, of Maine, Vice President of the United States, in these words:

"I take pleasure in presenting to you our friend Mr. DRAKE, from that noble and loyal city of the West, St. Louis, that bright star which shall shine 'brighter and brighter unto the perfect day.'"

Mr. DRAKE said:

Mr. President, in behalf of that noble city which I

have the honor to represent in part here, I thank you for the testimony you have so kindly borne to her tried and steadfast loyalty. You have not said too much in her praise. If you were acquainted with, and would consider, all the circumstances that have surrounded St. Louis, from the day that the traitor Governor of Missouri was installed, in January, 1861, to the present time; if you could know them as we who live there have known them, you would say, with me, that no city in this land deserves higher praise for loyalty, than St. Louis.

Sir, St. Louis, in the persons of her delegation here, greets the loyal men of the land in this assemblage, convened under such circumstances as have probably hardly been known in the past history of the world. She extends to you the hand of friendship and fraternity, feeling that her interests are bound up with yours, and resolved to live with you, and, if need be, to die with you. Never, I say, was a body like this convened under such circumstances as have brought us together here, on the margin of this fair lake, in this young but queenly city of the valley of the St. Lawrence. One part of the nation, covered with blood, is waging a conflict with the nation's deadly domestic foes, while another part is assembled here, by its representative men, to consider measures which are to promote the enduring prosperity, in peace and in war, of our noble and beloved country. With other people, would such a thing be possible? Could any other nation fight, with one hand, a battle for its life, and, with the other, so fashion and dispense the blessings of peace?

If I had never before been proud of the title of an American citizen, I ought to be proud of it now, and so ought every one of you. We have a right to be proud of that title. We have a right, too, to be proud of this glorious valley, which casts its watery wealth over Niagara; and of that other and greater valley, which extending nearly across the continent, pours its tide of living waters from the high North into the sea beneath the sun of the tropics; and we look for the day when these two continental vales shall, in their mingling waters, be blended, as it were, into one. We have a right to be proud of every development of enegy, enterprise, and improvement; for they all dignify and elevate us as a people, and give us power at home, and consideration, yes, and power, too, abroad. And among all the developments productive of these results, few have exceeded the simultaneous exhibitions, warlike and peaceful, of this day.

Is it not wonderful, in view of the last thirty years' history of this country, that so many separate States, so many classes of men, so many diverse, if not conflicting, interests, and so many forms of political opinion, should be harmoniously represented in such a body as this? Not long ago, the scowl of the South would have rested upon this assembly, either in the persons of delegates from that region, or of those who feared that scowl whenever and wherever it fell upon them. This body could not then have come here, as it does now, with one mind and one heart, because, forsooth, South Carolina, or Virginia, or Arkansas, and others of those strict-construction, treason-brew-

ing States, would have frowned upon the attempt; and your politicians would not have dared to come. Now, unshackled, we stand here freemen—free from Southern domination, and intending to sweep it, with its authors, into the Gulf of Mexico. Its day is done. Never again are we to hear in the Councils of the nation such words of overbearing defiance of our efforts to develop the resources of this great country through its national power, as we have heard in times past. Never more are the freemen of the North to be browbeaten and humiliated by the slave-driving tyrants of the South. One of the glorious results of this war, itself largely compensating for all the blood the war pours out, and for all the treasure it exhausts, is our perpetual freedom from Southern dictation and control. Henceforth we can talk and act about such things as have brought us here to-day, exactly as it pleases ourselves.

I do not propose just now to discuss the matter of Canals. That will come up in order to-morrow. This is, as I understand it, a "free fight" here this afternoon. I suppose, Mr. President, we may consider ourselves as in some sense in "Committee of the Whole," to use a Congressional phrase?

The President. Every latitude of debate is allowed.

Mr. Drake. The President says that we may say exactly what we please and introduce just such topics as we choose.

I know of nothing more likely to interest an American audience,—I mean a *patriotic* American audience—than some remarks about the war, which has now been

waged more than two years against all that we value, and all that makes our country a blessing to us or a hope to our posterity. And in the outset of such remarks, I would take leave to suggest that if there are any of those interesting characters called Copperheads in this assembly, it were perhaps as well for them to retire, if they do not wish to hear some plain truth about themselves. I do not intend to pay any particular respect to their feelings.

[At this point there was some disturbance at the end of the tent, caused by some offensive remarks made by one of the audience. There were calls to "put him out, put him out!" while some one else was in favor of letting him stay and be converted. At length order was restored, and several persons called out to the speaker to "go on."]

Mr. Drake (resuming). I am going on, gentlemen. I do not come from a place where men are afraid to speak their minds. I came from a place where Union men have spoken their minds, in peril, for more than two years; and I am going to speak my mind here.

The great point in connection with this war to which I will call your attention, is one which, for some cause or other, millions of the people of this country seem to be totally unconscious of or else are shoving it behind them, so that they shall not look at it. This is, that we are at this time sustaining a conflict for the life of this Nation with the institution of Slavery, as it exists and acts in the Southern States. Yes, it is Slavery that is battling to destroy our country and its Constitution! And when I tell you that in 1860 I was a Douglas Democrat, and that I never in my

life had anything to do with an anti-Slavery party until after Fort Sumter fell, you will understand that I am nó old time anti-Slavery fanatic, undertaking to harangue you this afternoon. I am telling you the sober truth when I say to you, that nothing on earth is assailing your country this hour but the institution of Southern Slavery. When, then, you hear any one talk about the "damned Abolitionists," you may know that he is a traitor or Copperhead.

And now the question is, whether we shall suffer Slavery to destroy our Constitution and our Union, or whether we shall destroy it? For my part, I say he deserves double damnation who hesitates one moment on that point. And now, when you go home, put your finger on every beggarly politician who attempts to convince people that the "damned Abolitionists" have got up this war, and just wipe him out, so that he will never be heard of again as long as you live, or he lives either. You will find such scattered about all through the loyal States. The Lord only knows how many there are in this crowd; for I am very sure that they have too much impudence to have accepted my invitation to leave the premises before I began to talk about them. Look at their complexion. It is not that of a white man. It is not that of a poor negro. It is copper, copper, copper all over! They belong to the meanest class of reptiles that crawl in the woods—the Copperhead. And I have a strong notion, that if we could institute a full investigation into the history of the case, we should find that it was one of them that betrayed our mother Eve in the garden of

Eden. And now I'll tell you what to do with such. To use a homely phrase, "*scotch him!*" That is, take a forked stick, and pin him with it by the neck to the ground, and leave him there to lash his tail about, as much as he pleases. His fangs will be of no use any more.

But that is only half your work. It is what you have to do here at home. But there is a greater work than that to be done in the South; and it calls for all the power, all the energy, all the resources, all the bravery, and all the constancy of the American people, from this time forth, until the jubilee shall sound for a nation triumphant over its intestine foes. And I am sure you will do that work.

There has been talk about Northern men resisting a draft, if one should be ordered. I tell those men who dream of such resistance, that whenever the Conscription law is put into execution, and they attempt to resist it, it were better for them that they had never been born. It has taken the Northern people a long time to be educated up to the demands of this terrible exigency; but in the face of defeat and disaster—in the face of the Copperhead election triumphs that disgraced some Northern States last year—in the face of every discouragement, the sentiment of the American people for the preservation of their Union and Government, at every hazard and every sacrifice, is now far in advance of what it has ever been at any time since the outbreak of the rebellion. And it is marching on, marching on, to victory and to glory, and to the utter destruction of all who stand in its way.

But every man must become a man of iron. Away with your puling nonsense about Conservatism! What patriot wants conservatism, in this day, of anything but that glorious flag, and the mighty nationality it represents? Do you think that your noble Constitution has no innate power to maintain itself, that Copperheads must become its conservators? All that I have to say to you is, that when you go, *in your way*, to spending your energies in conservatism of the Constitution, you are spending them in the conservation of this damnable rebellion. We want no such help in maintaining the Constitution; nor do we want such men as you at the helm of the ship of State in these stormy days. We want iron men; and not men of cold iron either; but men of hot iron, burning bright with patriotism, and fired with every impulse that can give strength, force, and elevation to the American character. And we will have them. We want no more men to manage public affairs, who are so desperately afraid of hurting Slavery, or offending its advocates. We want no politicians, looking to the time of the Union's restoration, and wondering if they can't then get the Southern vote to help them along in something, and commend themselves to Southern lordlings, by being able to say, "Oh, I never was a Radical against you—I was always a Conservative."

For my part, I reject and despise every impulse of that kind, and every man that entertains it. He and I stand the antipodes of each other—I wrapped around, from head to foot, with my country's flag; he cover-

ing half his face with his country's flag, and half with the flag of rebeldom. We want no such men. We want in every position men of true and earnest stamp. We want locomotive men, not stage-coach men. We want men with go-ahead in them. We want men who have the fire burning within them. We want men who have steam-power at their command. We want, when we strike, that every blow shall be a blow that tells—every movement a movement that crushes rebels. Woe betide the man that holds back one single atom from consecrating himself and his all to his country's good! Woe to that politician who trifles with the great interests of this nation for the sake of his party! Woe to him who would dishonor himself with any emotion of his heart, or movement of his hand, in favor of the rebellion which has so deeply cursed us!

Let us, my friends, improve this auspicious occasion. Let us be, here, what we ought to be everywhere, and what I doubt not the great mass of you are, living and earnest patriots. Let us be all that our country demands of us. Let us not fail to carry with us, on all occasions, the deepest conviction, that the only enemy we have to fight in this rebellion is the institution of SLAVERY. When the whole people shall come to understand this great truth,—when every man shall see that every other man is fully imbued with it, then will come our day of deliverance. Then, too, a halo of glory will encircle the Continent, which shall be seen brightly glowing in the long vista of future ages.

IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION

IN MISSOURI.*

Mr. DRAKE introduced into the Convention the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That it is expedient that an ordinance should be passed by this Convention, providing as follows:

"*First.* For the emancipation of all slaves in this State on the first day of January, A. D. 1864:

"*Second.* For the perpetual prohibition of negro Slavery in this State, from and after that date:

"*Third.* For a system of apprenticeship of the slaves so emancipated, for such period as may be sufficient to avoid any serious inconvenience to those interests with which slave labor is now connected, and to prepare the emancipated blacks for complete freedom:

"*Fourth.* For submitting said ordinance to a vote of the people for their ratification or rejection, on the first Monday of August next."

Upon this resolution Mr. DRAKE spoke as follows:

The intention of presenting this resolution is to ascertain, as soon as practicable, the sense of this body

* A speech delivered in the Missouri State Convention, June 16, 1863.

on the important subject in regard to which, principally, we are called together. Of course I do not indulge the hope of its escaping opposition. I therefore deem it proper to accompany its presentation with an exposition of the reasons which have influenced me to offer it. I will, first, briefly refer to my own position, and then state, with such fullness as may seem to me necessary, the grounds upon which I favor a plan of Emancipation such as this resolution points to. I respectfully crave the candid attention of the Convention.

Entering this assembly a stranger to two-thirds of its members, it is fit that I should indicate my past position and present views in regard to the institution of Slavery, in order that all may understand that in no respect am I influenced, nor shall at any time willingly permit myself to be, by any fanatical opinions or feelings against it as a system of labor. If I know myself, I approach the subject with as much coolness of head and calmness of spirit, as if it had never been, with me or others, a matter of excited discussion. I know nothing of my own mind and heart, if I am not actuated by a sincere desire to see the path of duty here, and to walk in it because it is the path of duty. And I mean not duty shaped by foregone conclusions, by party behests, or by unregulated enthusiasm; but duty to the highest and purest dictates which can influence me, in view of my responsibility to the people of Missouri, to posterity, and to God. That duty I will strive to follow, wherever it may lead, and whatever the consequences.

At no period of my life, until after our national flag was lowered—but not degraded—at Sumter, was I, in the commonly understood acceptation of the term, an anti-Slavery man; much less could it ever have been truly said of me, before that event or since, that I was an Abolitionist, in the sense in which that name was applied and understood for many years before the outbreak of the rebellion which now wars upon the Union, and has brought such accumulated wretchedness to our own State. But from the day of Sumter's fall, I hesitate not to declare here, as I have, in effect in other places, that my preconception in regard to the character of the Institution of Slavery have been gradually swept away before the ever-swelling tide of conviction, that there never was any other origin of this rebellion, nor any other sustaining power upholding it, than the wide-spread, long-formed, deliberate and audacious purpose to build upon Slavery a mighty Empire, which beginning its march on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and spreading first westward and southward, should in the course of years, as it gained establishment, influence, and power, turn northward, to invest Slavery forever with "the mastery of this whole continent." As that conviction slowly but certainly fixed itself on my mind, another grew up there, equally forcible and steadfast—that the movement which Slavery made, in such godless defiance of all obligations, human and Divine, to establish itself by the sword as a Power upon this continent, presented to every human being in the land the instant and unavoidable alternative of suffering this great nation to be destroyed or of destroying

Slavery, its assailant, wherever it was in arms against the Union. When that became apparent to me, I became the foe of Slavery, without a moment's misgiving, wavering, or thought of change. I saw it was Country or Slavery; and I should have held myself a coward and a traitor, if so seeing, I had hesitated one second of time as to my course.

In this brief statement you have the explanation of my present hostility to Slavery. I announce it at the opening of my service in this body, for two reasons: *First*, that my compeers here may fully understand why I, once a political defender of Slavery, am now its enemy; and *Secondly*, that if there are any here who, in this desperate conflict between American Slavery and American Liberty, are on the side of Slavery, they may make it known. This is the time and this the place for every man to show under which banner he ranges.

But, perhaps, there may be those who, agreeing with me as to Southern Slavery, are yet of the opinion that Missouri Slavery does not deserve a like condemnation. Were I of that opinion, it might modify my views and action here; but my judgment is, that *the spirit* of American Slavery is everywhere essentially the same, and that the history of this rebellion proves it. Look at our sister State on the East, and mark the contrast between her and Missouri during this war. We have been ravaged, while she sits composed and unharmed in her queenly beauty. Our soil has drunk blood like water, while hardly a stain of it is on hers. Armies have marched and countermarched,

skirmished and fought within our borders, while not a battle, great or small, has been waged within hers. Whole sections of Missouri present tenantless houses, while her habitations are filled with prosperous and happy people. Here thousands of deserted farms are overgrown with weeds; there the whole land yields bounteously to the hand of peaceful and thrifty labor. By every roadside in Missouri lie the bones of those slain by the stealthy shot from the bush, while the citizens of Illinois, old and young, male and female, travel her quiet highways, as free from molestation or fear, as if Slavery were waging no war against their country. And while no incendiary fires light up her blooming prairies, the guerrilla's fiendish work blazes almost nightly in lonely spots in our devoted State. Never did river divide two such variant scenes in the midst of one people. What means this most striking difference? Every member of this Convention knows, or may know, with clear and undoubting certainty, that there is but one possible solution of the contrast, and that is, that Slavery is in Missouri, and is not in Illinois! That is what has brought upon our people the aggravated horrors of the last two years; that is what renders life and property in many parts of Missouri more insecure than it would be in our Indian territory; that is what requires our militia to be armed and alert; that is what arms multitudes in Missouri in defense of their homes and their lives; that is what fills our noble State with a bitter and biting curse, wasting away her very life, and making her, in many parts, but the stark skeleton of her former self:

and it is with that we have to deal in this body, representing the personality and the power of her wronged and afflicted people. Who doubts, then, that the spirit of Slavery is everywhere the same? True, it may be more actively ferocious and implacable in one region than in another, as the surrounding circumstances excite or repress its action; but still in all places it is essentially identical. And as Missouri Slavery has, through many of its votaries and defenders, shown itself even more rapacious and relentless than Slavery in other border States, I can perceive no title it can urge to a stay of that execution of Slavery here, as over this whole land, by warlike or by peaceful means, which is to mark its retribution as a traitor and a parricide.

The institution of Slavery in the United States was doomed to extinction when South Carolina, by her ordinance of secession, attempted to make it the corner stone of "a confederacy of slaveholding States" on this continent. From that hour, what had before been, not only tolerated, but courted and caressed, lost its hold upon the patriots of the nation, and has finally become intolerable. The President's Proclamation of Emancipation was but the result of a resistless necessity laid upon the nation to crush its only intestine foe. That Proclamation declared Slavery extinct throughout rebeldom on the first day of this year, and, practically, it there ceased to be, from the day that thunderbolt fell upon it. No power on earth can resuscitate it there; and it lives in the loyal slave States, only until their people can, by their own peace-

ful action, do for it among themselves what the President, by warlike means, has done for it elsewhere. The crime which invoked his action was not merely that of men acting in the interest of Slavery—it was the crime of *the institution* itself, which creates and fosters a passion for predominance and power; and for that crime the institution must fall, everywhere throughout this land. To leave it standing on any spot of this country, is to leave the way open for future revolts, disturbing the peace of the nation and threatening the life of our free institutions. The people begin, at last, to comprehend this fully, and they are willing to abandon Slavery to its fate, and thereby save their country. Pre-eminently and nobly is it true of the people of Missouri. They are resolved and ready to sacrifice Slavery on the altar of patriotism. Their recent manifestations, in my view, leave little room for cavil or doubt on this point. In their minds there is no holding back, whatever is in the minds of politicians. Their will may possibly be baffled for a time, but it will certainly conquer. We, their legally delegated representatives, will do well to heed their voice. I, for one, will do so.

The circumstances under which we are called to consider the subject of the emancipation of slaves in this State are without precedent, unless the recent movement in West Virginia should be considered in some sense a precedent. We are to act under the influence of a conviction, forced upon us by the peril threatening our nation, and because it is manifest that as long as this war continues, and Missouri is a slave State,

she will, for that reason, be subject to incursions from abroad and convulsions within, which will cripple her energies, waste her resources, and cover her people with disaster and grief. In previous instances, Emancipation has been accomplished in the midst of peace. There is therefore no similarity of condition between Missouri and any of the States of the Union which, in former years adopted *gradual* systems of Emancipation. With them, the whole case was within their own grasp, free from external pressure; with us, external circumstances, over which we can exercise no efficient control, combine with our internal condition to create the exigency which calls for Emancipation. Their modes of action, therefore, should not, in my judgment, be a criterion for ours. They could afford to take their own time to put Slavery away; with us, time is not at our disposal, if we would place Missouri completely and forever beyond the hope of Southern traitors, and free her from the curse of home-bred treason. The times demand early, direct, and effective action—in my opinion, demand *immediate* Emancipation, and the final exclusion of Slavery from our territory. I am quite aware that this is a proposition to revolutionize, in a considerable degree, the social organization of our State; but it is a revolution to save us from blood, instead of plunging us into it; a revolution for peace, not for war; a revolution for prosperity, not for adversity. If I can succeed in inducing others to view it in this light, I shall not doubt the ultimate issue of the action of this body.

I do not intend at this time to discuss to any extent

the statistics of Missouri Slavery; nor does it now appear to me important to discuss them at all. Should my views on this point undergo a change, I may hereafter participate in statistical discussions, if they arise. There are great general aspects of this most weighty subject, which seem to me to take in enough to sustain the position I have assumed, and I shall therefore at present confine myself to them.

In the first place, it has ever been a cardinal doctrine of the Southern advocates of Slavery, that it must have room for unrestricted territorial expansion. I admit if it is to exist at all, as it exists in the South, it must have such room. The tendency of Slavery is to large landed estates, with few whites and many slaves. This requires constant extension of the territory occupied by Slavery. And such is the greater ratio of increase of slave population than of the white race, in some parts of the country, that to restrict Slavery there to certain defined and inexorable limits would, in the course of time, result in the exclusion of the whites, and the abandonment of the country to the blacks, or their constant subjugation by armed force to the dominion of their masters. Though these views may not apply as forcibly to Missouri as to the South, still while Slavery exists there, and here also, she is a party to their demand for the territorial extension of Slavery. And now, what is her present, and what is to be her future, position on this point? Let us frankly meet the truth as it stands. She is totally cut off from the possibility of aiding in expanding slave territory, or of being a participant in such extension, or in any pos-

sible scheme having that end in view. I can conceive of no circumstances under which she can be severed from the Union. As I said in a public address in April, 1862, so I say now, that "the National Government would wage endless war—and ought to do so—rather than suffer her to become the possession of any foreign power. Her destiny, therefore, is fixed, finally and irrevocably, in the Union." In considering her relations to Slavery, we are, therefore, to regard her as isolated from the insurgent States, as absolutely as if an ocean rolled between her and them. With territory on her eastern, northern and western borders made free by the will of the people there, and with territory on her southern border made free by the power of the nation through the laws of war, she is to have no part or lot hereafter forever in any plan, or hope, or dream of Slavery extension. Hence one great ligament binding her to that institution is broken never to be reunited. We are, therefore, to deal with this subject in the light of that most important fact. And what is its significance to us? In my judgment, it points to a severance of all the ties of sympathy between us and an institution which by its war upon the Union, has, within two years, brought calamities upon the country vastly overbalancing all the benefits which its most ardent friends could claim to have resulted from its whole existence in this land.

With this primary point settled, two inquiries, closely allied to each other, arise, viz: 1. What has Missouri gained by the existence of Slavery within her

borders? and 2. What can she expect to gain by its continuance there?

If you point, in the past, to her agricultural productions, largely the result of slave labor, I admit the fact; but direct you to the far greater amount produced by Illinois, in less time, with free labor. If you refer to her rapidly increasing population, I refer to you to the marked superiority of Illinois, and even Iowa, in that respect. The latter, twenty-seven years ago, had hardly a white inhabitant; now it is the home of nearly 700,000 people—more than half as many as sixty years of American occupancy have brought to Missouri. If you look at her railroads, which have entailed a debt of more than twenty millions of dollars upon her, I show you half as much in Iowa, and three times as much in Illinois, without a dollar of State debt upon either for them. You can probably name no particular, except the culture of hemp and tobacco, in which Missouri is not far behind her adjacent neighbor on the east, and soon will be behind her northern neighbor, if Slavery remains among us. In regard to those two items of production, she has been placed by slave labor in the advance; but already since, for the sake of Slavery, she was dragged into the arena of this fratricidal war, she has probably lost ten times more than all the profits of her hemp and tobacco ever since she became a State. How then stands the account of profit and loss in the past from her connection with Slavery? Does any one—can any one doubt that the loss of what she might have been more than she is, and the actual loss in war of what she had, will more than outweigh

the largest estimate of the profit she has derived from Slavery?

Does the future offer any more cheering prospect? With Slavery remaining among us, are we to gain upon, or even keep up with, our neighbors in the race of progress and improvement? Are we to move forward with any more rapidity than in the past? Heretofore, with as fertile lands as Illinois or Iowa, at less than half the price of theirs, the tide of emigration has, to a large extent, avoided Missouri. What is to make it different in the future? After this war for Slavery extension and empire shall have ended in the complete and final overthrow of Slavery throughout the rebel States,—as it certainly will,—is it likely that the adventurous sons of the free States will be so enamored of Slavery, as to seek homes in the few remaining States which still cling to this arch-enemy of the Union? No thoughtful man expects or believes that they will. It is therefore as certain as anything future can be, that, as a slave State, Missouri is still to be, as she has been, a laggard in the march of progress—is to be far behind what as a free State she is capable of being—is to be ever struggling with a self-imposed burden, pressing her down and paralyzing her energies, till, in some more favored hour, her people rise with one mighty impulse, and shame us by doing what we had it in our power, but lacked wisdom or nerve, to do. In the meantime, who can estimate the loss to Missouri, by her failure to assume a position of equality with her neighbor States? How much hemp and tobacco, raised by slave labor, will balance the account? We want

population! We want it for our immense territory, hardly yet begun to be developed; we want it for our deserted farms and abandoned homesteads; we want it to unearth our exhaustless stores of mineral wealth; we want it to replace the thousands of our people who have fallen, and are yet to fall, victims to this cruel war; we want it to renovate our drooping commerce, to complete and sustain our improvements, to give increased value to our lands, to help pay our debt; we want in short, to make Missouri as great in her mature development as she is in her native resources; and in my deliberate judgment, we shall not get it while Slavery is among us, and shall get it, certainly and soon, if we put Slavery away from us.

These are the general views which implant within me the resolute purpose for the good of Missouri, to contribute, in every way I can, to remove from her territory an institution which, I verily believe, has injured, incomparably more than it has benefited her; which promises no compensation to her people for past calamities; and which so long as it abides among us, is to repress her vigor, retard her growth, and stimulate treason, disloyalty, and rapine. In these views I am satisfied the great majority of the loyal people of this State concur.

But while it may be conceded by others that a large majority of the loyal people of Missouri are for Emancipation in some form, it may be denied that such a majority exists for Immediate Emancipation. This I propose to leave to their decision at the ballot-box. To that decision, if adverse, I will bow with the respect

due from every man in a republic to the fairly expressed will of the majority. I desire, however, to place before the people's delegates, and eventually before the people themselves, the considerations which influence me to espouse immediate Emancipation.

In the first place, I believe it of the highest importance in reference to the peace of Missouri, that Emancipation should be immediate. It is of the utmost interest to our people, not only to be themselves assured that Missouri is to remain forever a part of the Union, but to feel that the whole country has that assurance. Especially is it of the gravest moment to them, that all rebeldom should know, past all peradventure, that all attempts to entangle her in their meshes are, and are forever to be, utterly futile. It is most evident that the rebel leaders have not yet come to know or believe that she is beyond their grasp. A part of their plans has been to make the Missouri river their northern boundary; and it requires something more than fighting to make them yield that idea. As long as their piratical power remains unbroken, they will strive to subject Southern Missouri to their dominion. And as long as there is any belief among our people of the possibility of the accomplishment of that object, so long will the spirit of revolt and plunder be rife among us, making life and property insecure, unsettling the foundations of our prosperity, driving valuable population into the surrounding States for safety, and preventing accessions of people from abroad, except to those populous places which have within themselves the capacity of self-defense. Every attempt, too, by the

rebels to establish themselves within our limits, whether successful or not, must be attended with terrible injury to our people; to say nothing of the horrible outrages of the guerrilla and the bushwacker, carrying fear and desolation into almost every neighborhood; or of the murderous affrays between individuals, which have already caused so much bloodshed, and threaten so much more. I wish, if possible, to put a speedy and final end to all this, by destroying that which, in my opinion, is its sole cause. I do not suppose there is a member of this body, who believes that if Missouri had been a free State she would have been subjected to the five-hundredth part of the evils that have befallen her. Bordering southward upon Arkansas, with no natural boundary separating her from that State, we could not have expected such immunity from invasion as Illinois has enjoyed, with the Ohio river on her south; but still, without that advantage, we should have been comparatively free from rebel incursion, if there had been no Slavery among us. It was our being a slave State that caused the attempt to take Missouri into the rebel confederacy; it was our being a slave State that led some fifteen thousand of our citizens into "Price's Army;" it was our being a slave State that invited that army into our borders; it was our being a slave State that has filled our woods with thieving and murderous banditti; in fact, it may be said, without exaggeration, that hardly a misfortune has befallen our State within the last two years, which is not directly and fairly due to the existence of Slavery among us. And to me it is equally apparent that these calamities

will cease almost instantly upon the final and irrevocable displacement of Slavery from our soil. I wish them to cease at the earliest available moment; and every patriot, every Christian, every humane man must join in that wish. It will be gratified, if Slavery is put away from us, in such a way as to leave no hope of its return. A gradual system of Emancipation, extending through a series of years, would invite agitation for its repeal the moment this war is ended: a declaration of immediate Emancipation closes the door forever against all agitation, and gives us peace. Let no one say that such agitation will be impossible after the adoption of an ordinance of gradual emancipation. It will be possible, and probable too, whenever the General Assembly shall repeal the test-oath ordinance of June, 1862, and restore to the privileges of citizenship the blood-thirsty marauders who have ravaged almost every part of Missouri; as, in my opinion, that body will do, whenever by dissimulation, cajolery, and fraud, disloyalty shall be—as it probably will be, unless baffled by some action of this Convention—in the ascendant there again.

I would lift from off our State the deadly incubus which weighs it down, and at the same time leave not the least ray of hope of its ever being again imposed upon us. In my judgment immediate Emancipation will do this, and I can not see that anything else will. For the sake, therefore, of present peace and lasting repose, I am for immediate Emancipation.

But not alone on the plea for peace to our people do I base my advocacy of this policy. As a mere question of political economy, I hold it to be directly and

greatly to the interest of our State to declare immediate Emancipation. As we all know, the slaves of Missouri are, to a large extent, its agricultural and domestic laborers; in some sections almost its only ones. I understand, I think, nearly as well as the people of those sections, that to take from them suddenly those laborers, without replacing them with others, would work extended and serious injury; and, paradoxical as it may seem to some, it is to avoid that very result that I would make Emancipation immediate. If it be asked how this is to be done, I point to the condition of our slave population, as known to every observing and reading man. In whole sections of the State they are in a ferment; while in no section, so far as I can learn, are they in the quiet condition of two years ago. They are moving or being moved, all over our territory. From the eastern, northern, and western borders they are being moved by their masters to the center, to prevent their moving themselves beyond the circumference into the free States. From the center they are being moved into Kentucky, ostensibly to be employed in raising tobacco, but really to escape Emancipation. From every part they are moving themselves into regions where they may find the freedom they desire, and of which they have discovered that they can, in our present unsettled condition, easily avail themselves. There is at this moment hardly a slave owner in our State, who can lie down at night with any well-grounded confidence that the morning will find him in possession of as many slaves as when he went to sleep. The State is daily

losing its slave laborers, and no man can tell when the exodus will cease. And what is more momentous, it is the young, and the vigorous middle-aged men, that are departing, leaving the old men, the women, and the children, to be cared for by their masters. What is to stay this movement? With war imminent at any moment; with an internal condition so disturbed that pursuit of fugitive slaves is, beyond precedent, of doubtful result; with every road beset by marauders and murderers; it is notorious that slaves possess, and know that they possess, facilities for escape, such as they never had before; and that they are availing themselves of them, as they never did before. We will do well to look at these things as they are. It is folly to shut our eyes to them. We might as well realize that our State is rapidly losing its agricultural laboring strength, and that ere long, in all human probability, it will lose it entirely, unless some barrier to this exodus be interposed. And as we are in no condition to employ, as effectually as heretofore, a barrier of force, my view is to take from the slaves the inducement to seek freedom by flight, by making them free here. It is not from Missouri they are flying, but from Slavery; it is not Illinois, Iowa, or Kansas they are seeking, but freedom; and for this they leave old and familiar homes, wives, children, and friends, to enter upon new scenes among strangers, not knowing what will be their condition, nor caring what their fate, so it be met in freedom.

And now, as a merely economical question—as a simple matter of dollars and cents, I ask if it is not the

interest of our State to keep those laborers among us? What are we to gain by their self-deportation? Could we transfer them all, to-day, to another continent, and receive an equivalent accession of white laborers, we should, I think, be immensely the gainers by the exchange; but that is not the point. The question is, whether we shall quietly see the effective labor of our agriculture march away from us with nothing to replace it, or whether we shall pursue such a policy as will retain it until its place can be supplied? For my part I can see no two sides to such a question. No sane man believes that a substitute for a servile population of 80,000 or 100,000 souls can be obtained in any country or State in a period short of years; and least of all in a country that is losing by war so much of its bone and muscle as this country is losing now. It is therefore our clear interest, as a simple matter of political economy, to keep the negroes here until their places can be filled by white laborers. If the slaves understand that they are to remain slaves for an indefinite or a protracted period, they will continue to flee; and how are we to stop them? They go now, day by day, and night by night, and we are powerless to prevent it. When will this cease? Not, I verily believe, until you give them, on our own soil, at their old homes, the freedom they are seeking elsewhere; the aspiration for which has received, in two years of war for the extension and dominion of Slavery, a hundred-fold greater impulse, than all the efforts and appliances of Abolitionists for a quarter of a century could have given.

It is to avoid this drain of the laboring strength of our State, and at the same time prevent too severe a shock to our social organization, from so sudden a change in our system of labor, that I couple with immediate Emancipation the idea of a system of apprenticeship, which shall retain the negroes in their positions for a limited period. I desire that Emancipation should work as little injury as practicable, and accomplish for both races the greatest possible amount of good. I do not think it would be wise or humane to invest so large a slave population as that of Missouri, with the instant right of uncontrolled freedom. In many respects they are like children, and need to be educated into a fitness for such freedom. This is my judgment, founded upon the observation of more than forty years. But while I would have them pass through an apprenticeship, I would not extend that period a day beyond the time necessary to fit them measurably for entire freedom, and to afford opportunity for replacing them with white laborers. If their apprenticeship is to benefit them, or those for whom they labor, it should not be of such long duration as not to be distinguished by them from a state of permanent slavery, nor so short as to defeat the great object of obtaining white labor, equal to the demand, before the negro labor is left entirely to its own control. If the negroes are to remain among us, it is at once humane toward them and profitable to those for whom they work, that they should work *in hope*. My belief is, that properly managed and influenced, they are capable of being made, probably, as valuable a

peasantry as exists. Give them something to live for—let them feel that they are preparing better to live for themselves, and I have confidence that they will be found more capable of enjoying and profiting by their freedom, than many are accustomed to suppose. It should be remembered that we may reasonably hope for better results of Emancipation here, than have attended it in other countries, so far as the negroes are concerned. They have been reared, and will remain, under better influences of morality and religion among us, than the slaves emancipated by England or France were subjected to in the colonial possessions of those countries. We may hope and believe that those influences will continue to be exerted, and be effective, for the elevation of our black race. I, for one, am sanguine on that point. It is our interest to teach the blacks all the good, and as little of evil, as we can. It is our duty as philanthropists and Christians to do so. And when Christian duty and self-interest combine, we may well expect great results. It is to give full opportunity for this, as well as on account of the other considerations adverted to, that I desire this class of our population to come gradually to full freedom; not through a slowly expiring system of slavery, but through a period of apprenticeship, the end of which they can see to be not far off, and the time spent in which shall be a time of advancement, not of retrogression, with them.

This plan ought to, and it seems to me would, avoid much of the difficulty anticipated by many, of contact

with so large a population reared in servitude and then set free. I have met persons who seemed to be haunted by the idea of dreadful inconvenience, injury, and peril, to result from the surrounding presence of free blacks. So far as this relates to rural life, I confess I have not had such experience as to enable me to speak advisedly; but through my whole life I have been familiar with this subject in cities; and my belief is, that much less mischief proceeds from the free colored population there, than from any equal number of white people in corresponding condition of life. Nor am I aware of any moral or physical reason why their presence among us, after emancipation, should be so dreaded as some seem to dread it. But were all their apprehensions well-founded, I claim that we are just as capable of managing free negroes, through our laws and our judicial and ministerial authorities, as of managing the same number of white people. But were it otherwise, I take the broad ground that it is far better for the people of Missouri to encounter all the inconvenience, all the trouble, and all the hazard of the presence of a large free black population, through the period of perhaps not more than a single generation, than to entail upon future generations an institution which, as long as it exists, is to hang like a mill-stone upon our State, and at some future day, perhaps, bring down upon it again such disasters as have during the past two years, made it a field of blood.

I have endeavored, in a spirit of candor, to set forth the views which lead me to favor immediate

Emancipation. I doubt if they will be shown to be intrinsically unsound; and I doubt also whether an attempt will be made to do so. It is more probable that the effort will be to decry this policy, on the ground of its supposed injustice, not to the million and more of non-slaveholders in our State, but to the 25,000, or less, of our slaveholders. I have heard much of this alleged injustice, and I expect to hear more of it here. It is the old clamor by which the interests of our noble country have been long subordinated to those of a small fraction of its people; and I look for it to play its accustomed part in this great struggle for the liberation of Missouri from thralldom to "the peculiar institution." It is proper that it should be met at the threshold of this discussion, and I will endeavor to meet it.

It is considered to be a great wrong to the slaveholder to deprive him immediately of his right of property in his slaves; and this is by many held to be a sufficient reason why the best interests of a great State should be disregarded, or, at any rate, postponed. What is its real meaning? That depends upon the connection in which it is found. In regard to the question of Emancipation or no Emancipation, it means no Emancipation under any circumstances—no tampering with the Divine right of holding the negro in bondage—no interference with the absolute privilege of Slavery to establish, extend, and perpetuate itself wherever it once gains a footing. In regard to the question of immediate or gradual Emancipation, it means gradual—the most gradual that can possibly

be obtained — the remotest period and the slowest process that the people can, by the cry of injustice to the slaveholder be induced to allow. If this is not its meaning, I confess myself unable to discover it. Whether so or not, however, I propose to consider this question of injustice. The views I take of it may be erroneous, but until their error is made clear to me I must be guided by them. No impulse of injustice governs me; neither do I intend that my judgment shall be warped by a groundless fear of doing injustice to those, upon whom it is my honest purpose to confer what appears to me a signal benefit.

The value of a slave to his owner is two-fold: *first*, in the profit of his labor over and above taxation and the expense of supporting and taking care of him; and *secondly*, in the amount for which, as property, he can be sold. Let us consider this subject in both these aspects.

As long as the labor of a slave yields more than the necessary outlay on his account, the mere computation of income is in favor of his employment as a slave. But whenever he costs more than his labor is worth, the account changes, and he becomes a burden to his owner. Tested by this simple rule, I am of the opinion that a great majority of the Slaves in Missouri are this day unprofitable to their owners. But setting aside the old, the infirm, and the very young, and fixing attention upon those who yield the largest profit, I am satisfied that their labor, in freedom, would be far more valuable than it has ever been in bondage. Repeated experiments have been made in the Southern States, of

paying slaves for their labor, and requiring them to support themselves. In every such instance which has come to my knowledge, either through publications or private sources, it has been found that the negro worked better and produced more, when paid, than when not. This is a most instructive and pregnant fact. It teaches us that, regarding the negro merely as a laborer, there is not the least injustice to the owner in changing him from a bond to a hired laborer; but, on the contrary, a positive benefit. For we have no reason to doubt that the same result which has followed experimental changes of that description, would attend a similar change in our entire system. It is no answer to this view, to say that the negro will not work, unless compelled by authority, or driven to it by his necessities. We do not know that; but, on the other hand, we know that free negroes, all over this country, do work, as white men work, for the support of themselves and their families, and do exhibit steady industry and thoughtful frugality. There is then no injustice to the slaveholder in changing his relation to the negro, so as to pay for his labor, and thereby realize a larger profit from it, than if the latter were a slave.

The alleged injustice must therefore be, in depriving the owner, by the emancipation of his slave, of the right of selling the slave as a chattel. On this point the fact of deprivation can not be denied, if the slave remains in this State up to the day mentioned in the resolution. But he who does not wish his slaves to be freed on that day, will previously remove them to some other State, where he can sell them, or, if he please, retain them in

slavery. The inconvenience to him of such removal is no just ground for delaying a measure that is fraught with the most momentous results to the present and future people of this State.

But suppose no slaves should be removed before the day named, and all then in the State should become free, how would the matter stand? Assuming the President's Proclamation of January 1st, 1863, to be operative and effectual, as I certainly do, the Southern market for the slaves of the border States is gone forever, and with it has gone a large part of the market value of Missouri slaves. This may be an unpalatable truth, but it is, nevertheless, the truth. The presence of war in this State, creating exceeding insecurity of slave property, tends still further to diminish its marketable value. It is, therefore, I conceive, entirely fair to consider the market value of Missouri slaves reduced at this time to an average of one-half, or less, of what it was in 1860. And when you throw out of the consideration the question of injustice to the slave owners, the large number of such who have participated actively in this rebellion, or given it aid and comfort, and whose slaves are therefore in fact free, under the Act of Congress of July 17, 1862, though still held in bondage; and also put aside the vast throng of other disloyal owners, who are not entitled to any consideration whatever at our hands; and also lay out of view, *first*, the large number of slaveholders who, in violation of law, let their slaves hire their own time, and by that violation disentitle themselves to our favor; and *second*, the other large numbers who are totally

indifferent as to whether they retain their slaves or not; and *third*, the still larger number, as I would hope and believe, of true and earnest patriots, who either desire, or will cordially agree to, immediate Emancipation, for the sake of the Union and of peace: when you put aside the grand array of slaveholders embraced in these various classes, you would find, if a correct result could be arrived at, that only a very small proportion of the supposed number of 25,000 slaveholders in the State would be entitled or disposed to complain of the injustice done them by immediate Emancipation. Concerning them I would say, *first*, that if they are landholders —as, doubtless, nine-tenths of them are—they will certainly, as a body, and probably in each individual case, be far more than compensated for the loss upon their slaves, by the increased value of their lands, produced by Emancipation; and *secondly*, if they are not landholders, they will be more than compensated by the general flow of prosperity, beyond anything previously known, which will assuredly result from Missouri's becoming a free State.

But even supposing these views untenable, and admitting all the injury to the slaveholders which is claimed, then I close this branch of the discussion with the distinct announcement that, in my opinion, in such a dire emergency as that now upon us, individual interests, and interests of classes, must give way to the general good. Were it in my power, by any act of mine, to accomplish immediate Emancipation without inconvenience to any single loyal slaveholder in our State, I would joyfully do it; but I have no such

power. My duty here is to legislate, not for individuals or classes, but for the whole of our people; not for the Missouri of to-day merely, but for the Missouri that is to be here, perhaps, for ages to come; not for the present generation only, but for the unborn generations that are to fill our extended territory in the long future; not for our State alone, but for our whole glorious country; not for the sordid behests of expiring, but still grasping, Slavery, but for the beneficent expansion and perpetuation of an ennobling and deathless Freedom. I endeavor to rise to the height of the great occasion, and with such distant approach to statesmanship as I can make, to view the mighty interests staked on our action; and I neither can nor will suffer myself to be swerved from the path of duty, as it seems plain to me, by an undue deference to individuals or classes. In this great conflict for the redemption of a State fit to be in itself an Empire, private interests must be sacrificed, if necessary, to those of the vast aggregate, present and prospective, whose enduring welfare demands our first care and our highest consideration. This is my standard of duty, and by it I will stand or fall.

And now I will close my remarks on this particular topic, with a notice of the moral aspect of an appeal against immediate Emancipation, based on injustice to slaveholders. The whole foundation of this allegation of injustice, if it has any, is in immediately taking away from one man the right to hold another man in bondage, and to sell him as a slave, instead of taking it away at a distant day. I have no comments to make here upon the morality of Slavery; for itssins are infinitely more

heinous in my view, than any intrinsic immorality which may be attributed to it; and they are enough for all my purposes now. I therefore pass by the moral questions involved in Slavery itself, to direct your attention to the true character of any appeal to you on the score of injustice to slaveholders. You will agree with me, that in all the history of the world, no nation was ever so threatened, assailed, and endangered by intestine enemies, as this nation has been for more than two years. You will agree with me, that it has struggled and is still struggling for its life. You will agree with me,—perhaps, not all, but most of you,—that it is the institution of Slavery, and nothing else, that menaces our national existence. You will agree with me,—perhaps not all, but most of you,—that every drop of blood which has been shed, every life that has been sacrificed, every ghastly wound that has been inflicted, every widow and orphan that has been made, every house that has been desolated, lays its account, before God and man, at the door of Slavery. You will agree with me, all of you, that Missouri has suffered her full share of these dreadful afflictions; so that were the signs of mourning to mark every habitation upon which they have fallen, our whole State should be draped in black this day. And you will agree with me,—perhaps not unanimously,—that as long as Slavery exists here, this torrent of unheard-of misery is to continue to pour upon us, and that it will cease when Slavery ceases with us, and not before. And now, in the full light of all this, you will probably be appealed to, to stay the emancipating act for years,

perhaps many years, because it is unjust to a few thousands of our more than a million of people, to deprive them suddenly of the right to hold men and women as their property, and of the privilege of profiting by the continuance among us of that institution, which is "the cause of all our woe!" What is this, in plain terms, but an invocation of continued feud, war, rapine, and death, rather than that the small part of our population who are slaveholders should now, instead of years hence, cease to have the right to sell the negro as a slave? Can you make aught else of it? If you can, show it; if you can not, then agree with me that the spirit of Slavery is everywhere the same; that it is always selfish, greedy, and remorseless; that in Missouri it is not less so than elsewhere; and that it is as impossible for devotion to Slavery and vital generous patriotism to co-exist in the same heart, as it is for fire to rest unquenched upon the bosom of the great river that laves the base of the capitol in which we sit.

It will not have escaped notice, that I have made no reference to compensation by the State to the owners of slaves. On that subject my words will be very few. In the first place, there is no Constitutional injunction upon this body, as there is upon the Legislature, to provide such compensation, as a pre-requisite to Emancipation; and there is therefore no Constitutional obligation upon us to consider the question. In the next place, compensation by the State, out of her own resources, is an absolute impossibility; and therefore it is useless to discuss it. It could be got from the people of Missouri only by long-continued

and most grievous taxation, which they would not bear, and which I never would, by any act of mine, help to impose upon them. Should the nation, in pursuance of the resolution adopted by the last Congress, hereafter grant money or bonds to compensate our few thousand loyal slaveholders for doing what patriotism and humanity ought to make them do without compensation, let them receive the money, if they please. Were I a slaveholder, I would scorn to touch a dime of it. And there is one other contingency in which I would vote compensation to loyal slaveholders, and that is, when our rebel and traitorous slaveholders, and their sympathizing pro-Slavery friends, shall, in any way they may devise,—about which "no questions asked,"—obtain and pay into the State Treasury, in "Bankable Funds" or in "greenbacks," gold not required,—a sum sufficient to indemnify Missouri for all the ravage, destruction, and misery she has endured through their efforts to drag her out of the Union. When official information is obtained that Slavery has thus balanced its accounts with Missouri, there will be little difficulty about compensation. Until that fund is provided—which I confess does not seem to me very near at hand; or the nation comes to our aid—of which I am not hopeful; compensation is a fantasy, or, in less elegant phrase, a humbug, and might as well be treated as such, here and elsewhere.

Having thus, gentlemen of the Convention, placed before you the views I entertain on this most important subject, I invoke you to a calm and deliberate consideration of our position as a body in reference to

Slavery. Why are we called together now? Less than two years ago, on the 3d of August, 1861, our present Governor, in a Proclamation to the people of Missouri, issued upon his taking the reins of the Provisional Government, declared that his appointment as Provisional Governor would "satisfy all, that no countenance would be afforded to any scheme, or any conduct calculated in any degree to interfere with the institution of Slavery existing in the State, and that to the very utmost extent of Executive power that institution would be protected." From any man such language could not be misunderstood; but from a man who during forty years of life as a lawyer had bent the energies of a keen and powerful mind to the study of the meaning and use of words, it had, to my mind, and I believe to the whole mind of Missouri, a most distinct and unmistakable import. I do not suppose that an intelligent man ever read the sentence, who did not receive from it the impression that our State Administration had passed into the hands of a pro-Slavery man, and would be conducted by him in the interest of Slavery. On the 13th of June, 1862, the same Governor transmitted to this body a message suggesting that its action in laying on the table an ordinance providing for submitting to a vote of the people a gradual scheme of Emancipation, after Congress had, at the suggestion of the President, passed a resolution offering national aid to any of the slave States that might see proper to adopt such a measure, might "be represented as rudely discourteous to the President and Congress; and that some "direct

response" should be made, as "an act of courtesy to the authorities of our Government, who had made a proposition which, if it ever be carried into effect, would exhibit the greatest liberality." In that message the Governor intimated to the Convention that its members might, before their constituents, justify the refusal to allow the question of Emancipation to be discussed, and the laying of the proposed ordinance on the table, by taking the position, that it was "well warranted in declining to act upon the proposition, upon the ground that the people, in choosing the Convention, never intended or imagined that the body would undertake any social revolution wholly unconnected with the relations between the State and the General Government." And so confident was the Governor in the correctness of this position, that he added the significant declaration, that "no person who understands the principles of our Government would object to such action, unless it be one *who is willing to disregard all principle to accomplish a desired end.*" Ten months and two days after that message was sent, the Governor issues a call for this Convention to assemble, "to consult and act upon the subject of the Emancipation of Slaves;" declaring it "of the highest importance to the interest of the State that some scheme of Emancipation should be adopted;" and his message to this body yesterday reiterates that opinion in emphatic and impressive terms.

I refer to these acts and declarations of the Governor, not because I think his change in any degree unworthy of his high character and position, but for

reasons which I will proceed to state. In the first place, the people do not understand why he should call us together to overthrow the institution of Slavery, when he had previously declared "that to the very utmost extent of Executive power, that institution would be protected." Nor do they understand why this Convention, nearly nine-tenths of whose members were elected two years and four months ago,—as he considered for other purposes,—should now be invoked to act on Emancipation, while a proposition is still pending before our Legislature,—which is to reassemble in November next,—for the election of another Convention, which would come fresh from the people, and certainly represent their views. Nor do they understand why he should convene this body, which, one year ago, he declared to have no power over the subject; and which then signalized its opposition to Emancipation, by relentlessly stifling debate upon it, against the entreaties and remonstrances of its friends, and laying upon the table, by a vote of nearly three to one a scheme of very gradual emancipation. The people do not understand these things; nor do they entertain much hope of good to Emancipation from this body. They fear that its call at this time, though perhaps not so intended, may result in the practical defeat of Emancipation, by the adoption of some scheme so feeble and inert as to prolong Slavery in this State, with a continuance of the wretchedness it has brought upon us, until some distant day; when, with rebels, guerrillas, and bushwhackers restored to the privilege of a ballot, Emancipation will be repealed, our State given

over again to the dominion of Slavery, and anti-Slavery men and Union men driven from its borders, or trampled under foot. I do not say that this was the purpose, or even in the mind, of the Executive in convening us now; but that the great mass of our loyal people fear that such may be the result of our assembling. And as one of the few in this body who represent the latest expression of a part of our people, directly upon the all-engrossing topic of Emancipation, I ask this Convention to be cautious how it gives, by its action, any confirmation of the popular belief and fears to which I have referred. The people are in no mood to be trifled with in this matter. They have their eyes upon us, and they will not take them off. They know what Emancipation means, and they likewise know what *bogus* Emancipation means. They know that the former will bring them relief from the incalculable sufferings they have endured through two nightmare years; and that the latter will but prolong those sufferings. And now, not in the spirit of bravado or menace, but to say with all plainness of speech what the circumstances seem to me to require, I say that whoever here misrepresents the will of his constituents on this subject, is as certainly a doomed man with them, as he is doomed some time to die! To those original members who represent districts that have recently filled vacancies by electing immediate Emancipationists, this matter seems to me to commend itself in a very special manner. I know well that they do not stand or fall by my judgment, but by the judgment of their constituents; and that will be a judgment of

approval or condemnation, just as their last-expressed will is obeyed or contemned. Let him beware of the future who contemns it!

Another object I had in view in referring to those acts and declarations of the Governor, was to point you to the significance of his complete and auspicious change of mind in regard to Emancipation. Do you not see that he moves with public opinion against Slavery? Do you not see the hand-writing on the wall? If not, I pray you to open your eyes to it, and read the doom of Slavery in Missouri, written by her loyal people, in characters never to be effaced. Read it in the changed views and action of the Executive; in the results of recent elections to fill vacancies in this body; in the primary assemblies of the people; in the tone of the public press, with few exceptions, throughout our State; in the sudden and precipitate abandonment of Slavery's defense by obstinate pro-Slavery men in every quarter; in every form and phase in which the stern and steady resolve that Slavery shall cease to exist on our soil, and that right early, can make itself known. You can not protect it, or prop it up, or defend it. Its prestige is gone; it has lost its power; it is in disgrace. It stands at the bar of public opinion in Missouri condemned by its fruits, hopelessly and without possibility of appeal. It has ever been a clog upon our advance and prosperity. It has allied us to the insurrectionary States. It has made our territory the field of civil war. It keeps up the domestic strife now desolating our State, when the rebel armies are at a hopeless distance. It fills

our woods with robbing and murdering hordes, who are fed, clothed, and sheltered, warned of approaching danger, and guided to pillage and blood, by the neighbors of their victims. It transforms our men, and, God forgive them! our women, too, into implacable enemies of Union men, into treacherous betrayers of their former friends, into spies and informers, into purveyors of revenge, rapine, and assassination. Against this common enemy, all classes of our people make common cause. Every great interest in our State wars upon it. Farmers, mechanics, merchants, manufacturers, professional men, speculators, land owners, steamboat men, railroad men, and multitudes of slaveholders, all combine to attack it. Reason, evidence, and experience are against it. The past condemns it; the future rejects it; the present deals it deadly blows. The people are marching over it. Politicians abandon it, as rats a falling house. It is in fact dead! We are here to bury it. They who cling to it cling to a corpse, and will be buried with it. No man who upholds it now will be trusted by the people, except perhaps in a few spots of our State, from this time forward. You can not save it, but you may lose yourself in the effort. When the wrecked vessel goes down, it is they who cling to it to the last, that go down with it.

THE MISSOURI CONVENTION,

AND ITS EMANCIPATION WORK.*

I do not appear before you this evening to give account of my performance of the service in our State Convention, to which I was assigned by the voters of this city and county. My acts, and, in a very small part, my words in that body, during the fifteen momentous days of its session, have been given to the world, and the judgment of my constituents has passed, or soon will pass upon them. I am not here to ask what that judgment is or will be; nor to defend any of my acts; nor to challenge applause for any. I performed my duty conscientiously, according to my best judgment, and that is enough for me to know. If any man thinks he could have shown a better judgment on any point, had he filled my place, I can only regret that he was not there to do it.

My object in responding to the invitation to address you this evening is, in as few and plain words as may be, to convey to your minds a definite and distinct impression of the spirit and acts of that body, which,

* A Speech delivered in St. Louis, July 9, 1863.

elected in February, 1861, for certain well-understood purposes, was called together in June, 1863, for other and far different purposes. It is due to the truth of history that this matter should be understood; and, if you will give me your attention, I am confident you will understand it in its true light.

I will not stop to discuss the question whether under the law authorizing the election of a Convention, that body, when elected and convened, had the rightful power to act upon the subject of the emancipation of slaves. That is a point to be settled by the Judiciary, not by the people. It is sufficient to say that it is an open question, which the Judiciary may sometime be required to determine, and upon which your opinion or mine, expressed in popular meetings, can have no weight. Conceding for the present the power, I turn to other matters properly cognizable by the people in their primary assemblies.

The Convention, it is universally agreed, was not elected with any reference to the subject of Emancipation. Throughout the whole State, not one single voter, in February, 1861, dreamed that it would ever be called to act upon that subject. It held three separate sessions, in February, July, and October, 1861, without a word being said by a single member about Emancipation. A historian, examining its journal and proceedings during those three sessions, would not suppose that it had any more to do with Emancipation in Missouri, than in the kingdom of Dahomey. It met again in June, 1862. During that session, on the 7th day of June, Judge Breckinridge introduced into the

Convention "*An Ordinance to provide for submitting to a vote of the people of Missouri certain amendments to the Constitution, and a scheme for the gradual emancipation of slaves;*" and accompanied its introduction with a speech in its favor. At the conclusion of that speech, Judge Hall of Randolph, moved to lay the Ordinance on the table, which was done by a vote of 52 to 19; and so ended the first attempt to bring the subject of Emancipation before the Convention. The motion to lay on the table cut off debate, and the speech of Judge Breckinridge was therefore all that was said about Emancipation, *pro* or *con*, in the Convention, from the day it first met, in February, 1861, to the day it closed its fourth session in June, 1862.

I am thus particular in this statement, because it will be presently seen to connect with other facts, of interest in the elucidation of the spirit and purpose of Governor Gamble in calling the Convention together, and of the Convention when it met in pursuance of his call. The tabling of Judge Breckinridge's Ordinance meant that the Convention was, on the 7th of June, 1862, opposed to *any* action on the subject of Emancipation; so much opposed that it would not even listen to a word from any other member than him; and doubtless he was listened to, only because he had the floor before the motion of Judge Hall could be made.

Soon after the Convention had so disposed of Judge Breckinridge's proposition, the Governor became aware that, in one respect, a mistake had been committed, which it was important should be rectified. You will remember that on the 10th of April, 1862, the Congress

of the United States, at the solicitation of the President, passed a joint resolution, in the following words:

"That the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of Slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system."

This resolution was characterized by Governor Gamble as "a proposition of unexampled liberality;" and he saw that the action of the Convention on Judge Breckinridge's Ordinance was but a poor return, on the part of Missouri, for an offer which was as generous as it was unprecedented. On the 13th of June, 1862, therefore, he sent a message to the Convention, calling attention to the fact that its action "would, without doubt, be so misrepresented as to excite a hostile feeling to the State among all those in authority who favor Emancipation, and thus injuriously affect the interests of the State. And as no reason could be given upon the motion by which the ordinance was disposed of, the result might be represented as rudely discourteous to the President and Congress."

You will notice in this language of the Governor no reference to the policy or expediency of Emancipation, though the general Government had offered aid in the work. I do not say that the circumstances demanded such a reference; nor do I reproach or criticize him for the absence of it; but refer to it as a singular feature of his message, when brought into view along with the succeeding portion of that document, to which I will now call your attention.

The object of the message, manifest upon its face, was to furnish the Convention with prepared excuses for their action, not only to the President and Congress, but to their constituents. It was an amiable service on the part of the Governor, which was doubtless appreciated by the Convention; particularly as that body, intensely pro-Slavery as it was, could not have been blind, any more than he was, to the rising feeling in favor of Emancipation, which was making itself manifest over the whole State, in such a way as not to be disregarded.

The Governor first suggests excuses in the following terms:

"If, in the understanding of the Convention it was not contemplated by the people, when electing the body, that it should ever act upon the subject of Slavery in the State, and therefore such action would be improper; or, if the Convention believes that the public mind is so agitated already that the proposal of any scheme of Emancipation would produce dangerous excitement, there can be no objection to assigning either as a reason for abstaining from action upon the subject, and leaving it to *a different body* or another time."

Now, assuming the Governor to have been sincere in these suggestions, as I certainly do, what is their meaning? The form in which they are put is, to be sure, that of a supposition that the Convention might think as he there suggests; but no man can read those sentences without being convinced that they expressed the Governor's own sentiments; which may be thus compendiously stated:

1. It was not contemplated by the people, when

electing the Convention, that it should *ever* act upon the subject of Slavery in the State, and therefore such action would be improper: and

2. The public mind was so agitated already, that the proposal of *any* scheme of Emancipation would produce dangerous excitement.

Such were the Executive suggestions, embodying the Executive opinions. But the Governor did not stop at suggesting excuses: he volunteered to furnish the Convention with an argument, which I present in his own words, as follows:

"In theory, conventions are understood to possess all political power, but in actual practice they confine themselves to the measures upon which the people, at the time of their election, expected them to act. When this Convention was chosen, the subject before the public mind was the relation between the State and the general Government. Acting upon this subject, the Convention deposed a Governor and Legislature, because they were trying to disturb those relations; militia ordinances were adopted, because a military force was necessary to maintain those relations; the offices of all persons who refused to take an oath of allegiance were vacated, because official power in the hands of disloyal persons might be employed to disturb such relations; laws were vacated, because they had been passed for the purpose of bringing on a collision with the general Government—in fine, the action of the Convention has been mainly addressed to the one subject which it was elected to consider, and to those which arose out of it.

"When, then, it is asked to entertain a proposition, which is to effect a radical change in the social organization of the State, it is well warranted in declining to

act upon the proposition, upon the ground that the people, in choosing the Convention never intended or imagined that the body would undertake any social revolution wholly unconnected with the relations between the State and the general Government. No person who understands the principles of our Government would object to such action, unless it be one who is willing to disregard all principle to accomplish a desired end."

This language, you will remember, came from Governor Gamble—a man who has been more than forty years a lawyer, who was at one time Presiding Judge of the Supreme Court of this State, and who was, when he wrote it, in the full possession of his intellectual faculties. It sums itself up in these five distinct propositions, to which he gave the full sanction of his personal, legal, and official character, to-wit:

1. That Emancipation is a social revolution.

2. That it is wholly unconnected with the relations between the State and the general Government.

3. That the people in choosing the Convention *never intended or imagined* that it would undertake to act on the subject of Emancipation.

4. That, therefore, the Convention was well warranted in declining to act upon it.

5. That, whoever, understanding the principles of our government, would object to the Convention's so declining to act, is willing *to disregard all principle* to accomplish a desired end.

Such were the doctrines promulgated by the Governor, on the 13th of June, 1862. I reproduce them now, not as new matter, with which this audience may

not have become acquainted, but because it is important that they should be viewed in the connection in which I am about to place them. Remark, that not one of those propositions is of a temporary character, which might be good in 1862, but not in 1863. They, each and all, go to the root of the matter, and strike at the propriety of the Convention's acting at all upon the subject of Emancipation at any time, or under any circumstances; for the manifest reason that the people "never intended or imagined" that it should act upon that subject. In other words, the Convention was not elected for any such purpose, and therefore should not touch the subject. This was his opinion then, and it has never since been disavowed, that I have heard of.

Why, then, did Governor Gamble, in April, 1863, call that Convention together again, for the express purpose of acting upon that very subject? Were the reasons which, ten months before, seemed to him so potent against such action, any less potent when he issued that call? Did he, in his message to the Convention, when it was assembled under that call, tell that body wherein those reasons had ceased to be valid? Nothing of that kind appears in that document. For aught that has come from him, they were just as valid when the Convention met, on the 15th of June, 1863, as when he sent in his message on the 13th of June, 1862. Such being the case, he stands self-convicted of inviting the Convention to do an act which he believed it wrong for that body to do; which the people never intended or imagined it should do; which it

never could do, without his Executive call; and which he had, in effect, solemnly declared no man would have it do, who was not *willing to disregard all principle!*

The question returns, then, Why did he re-assemble that Convention, to act upon Emancipation? What is the explanation of such an act? When he became Governor, he proclaimed to the world that "no countenance would be afforded to any scheme or any conduct calculated in any degree to interfere with the institution of Slavery existing in this State:" why should *he* set in motion the machinery that was, not only to interfere with, but destroy that institution? He knew that the Convention was not only not elected with reference to Emancipation, but that it had before "killed Emancipation at the first pop:" why call *it* to bring Emancipation to life again? He knew that it was an incorrigible pro-Slavery body, a clear majority of all of whose members had, in 1862, promptly crushed the life out of a very feeble scheme calculated to interfere with the institution of Slavery:" why did he call upon those same men to take the exactly opposite course, and crush the life out of Slavery? Why did he do this, when there was at the very time he did it, and still is, pending in our Legislature, which is to re-assemble in November next, a proposition to elect a new Convention, for the express purpose of acting on that particular subject?

My friends, I do not know what was in Governor Gamble's mind when he issued the call for that Convention, elected in February, 1861, to meet in June, 1863, to deal with a subject which he considered, in

June, 1862, it ought not to deal with at all; for he has never declared it publicly, or to me individually. I can only look at the facts as they are, and draw my own conclusions from them; such conclusions as an impartial historian would deduce; such as, in my opinion, every sensible and straightforward man is justified in deducing; such as, I have no doubt, the world's opinion will settle down upon. The whole matter lies in a nutshell. Governor Gamble, and those who act with him, saw that a public sentiment was rising, over our whole State, in favor of the removal of the curse of Slavery from our soil; that the people were rapidly wheeling into line in favor of *immediate* Emancipation; and that they also demanded the election of a Governor and other State officers, in lieu of those set over them by the Convention. It was necessary, in some way or other, to thwart this movement, or it would sweep the Governor and his party overboard, whenever the people should have access to the ballot-box. How was it to be done? To take issue with it, was certain destruction to him and his partisans. There was only one other way, and that was to take the wind out of the sails of the Emancipationists, by calling the old, almost defunct, pro-Slavery Convention together, and let it ordain Emancipation, at such time as it could be cajoled or frightened into adopting, no matter how distant or protracted, and then go before the people as they are now doing, and demand and urge acquiescence in its action as a final settlement of the whole matter! It was a cunning game, well played, and doubtless expected to be suc-

cessful. It was a bold game, too, as it had need to be; for upon its success depended, perhaps, the maintenance and consolidation of enormous power in the hands of the Governor and his parasites. But it was no honest game, and it will not win, if the people come to understand it, as I doubt not they will.

When such a Convention met, under such auspices, what could be expected from it? It took but a single day to discover that it was a packed, compact, and thoroughly-drilled body. Every man who could be relied on by the pro-Slavery leaders was in his place, and knew his position and his work. Men were there who had absented themselves from previous sessions. Men of known disloyalty were there, too. The immediate Emancipationists were not one-fourth of the whole. Among them it so happened that I was almost the only one who had been much accustomed to engaging in debate; while on the other side were some half-dozen able debaters, with the Governor at their head. The odds were tremendously against us. And yet, on the first day of the session, an attempt was made to induce the Convention to ask General Schofield to extend the parole of Mr. Marmaduke, a pro-Slavery member, and an avowed Secessionist, then under military durance in this city, so as to allow him to take his seat in the Convention. I resisted it, from first to last; and though the Convention finally declared that it had no desire, upon the facts before it, that Mr. Marmaduke should be prevented by military restraint from attending its sessions, it seems that General Schofield had such a desire, upon the facts before him; for, instead

of allowing the gentleman to visit Jefferson City and sit in the Convention, he gave him a free passage to Dixie, with full privilege to sit in any Convention he can find in that happy land.

I mention this, as a circumstance indicating the effort to array the whole pro-Slavery strength of the body. All that strength was there, that could be got there; was there for a specific purpose; was there to destroy the Radical Emancipation party, by *seeming* to do its work; was there to ordain *bogus* Emancipation, in the hope that the people could be made to accept it as genuine; was there to practice a "confidence game" upon the people, and then "garotte" them, so that their voice should never be heard; was there to set up the will of a majority of eighty-odd men over the will of a majority of the people; was there to subject the people, in effect, to the relentless sway of a dying pro-Slavery oligarchy; which, thank God! died within an hour after it did the work it was called to do. Rejoice, Missouri, that the re-assembling of that Convention is forever impossible!

Having thus shown you the true character of that body, I will briefly refer to its proceedings and acts. They were characterized by as determined a disregard of the popular will, as probably was ever shown by a deliberative body in this country. It was evident to me, from the first, that nothing was to be hoped from it in accordance with the will of the great mass of the people. Two great objects held the majority together: *First*, the continuance of the present State Administration in power, in spite of the demand of the people

to be permitted to choose their own rulers; and, *Second*, the adoption of some scheme of Emancipation, no matter how distant in its operation, with which to stifle the cry of the people for action on that subject: both to be pursued with the purpose of breaking up the Radical party.

In connection with the first-named object, a very solemn farce was enacted. The Governor resigned his office; was asked to take his resignation back; took it back; and is Governor yet! It required but the sagacity of a mouse to foresee that result, from the moment the Governor's message was read, declaring his resignation to take effect upon the last day of that session. There were those there, however, who were willing to take the Governor at his word. On the third day of the session, Mr. Eitzen introduced an Ordinance, providing for the election, on the first Monday of August next, of a Governor, Lieutenant Governor and other State officers, which, on motion of Judge Hall, was incontinently laid on the table, where it sleeps yet. On the 22d of June, I introduced a resolution for the appointment of a committee to report an Ordinance for the election, on the 6th of October next, of a Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Secretary of State—the officers that had been appointed by the Convention. This was debated for a day and a half without coming to a conclusion. I advocated it on the broad principle that the people had a right to elect their own rulers; and had it been determined on the ground of principle merely, the resolution would probably have been adopted, at least as to the office

of Governor. But the second act of the solemn farce was to be enacted. Mr. Comingo offered a substitute for my resolution, returning the Governor's resignation to him, with a request that he would continue in office until November, 1864, and until his successor should be elected and qualified. The issue was changed from one of principle to a personal one; and, of course, the principle went under. Mr. Comingo's resolution was substituted for mine, and that was the last of effort to give back to the people the privilege of electing their own rulers. The vote of St. Louis members on the question of substitution was: *Ayes*—Messrs. Breckinridge, Gantt, Holmes, How, Long, and Shackleford; *Noes*—Messrs. Bridge, Bush, Drake, Hitchcock, Linton, Meyer, and Smith.

A brief history of the proceedings on the subject of Emancipation will close my review of the action of the Convention. A Committee on Emancipation of one from each Congressional District was elected by the Convention, with the Governor at its head. A majority of its members had voted, in 1862, to lay Judge Breckinridge's Ordinance on the table, and were therefore peculiarly fitted for a committee to prepare an Ordinance of Emancipation. One immediate Emancipationist, Mr. Bush, of this city, was allowed a place on the committee.

After about a week's deliberation, the committee reported a bill declaring Emancipation on the Fourth of July, 1876! It was, for any good to this generation, about equivalent to declaring it in the next century. It is needless for me to review the different steps

which led finally to the adoption of the Ordinance as it now stands. It has been before you in all the newspapers, and you have doubtless all read it. No man need read it twice to comprehend its true character. It is a mere subterfuge, designed to delude the people with the idea that the question has been settled, and therefore they should give the matter up, and turn their thoughts to something else. It continues Slavery in this State, as it is now, until the Fourth of July, 1870, and thenceforward, as to all slaves over forty years of age, during their lives. All then under twelve years of age are to remain in servitude until they reach the age of twenty-three; and all between the ages of twelve and forty, until the Fourth of July, 1876. It is a scheme which, in a period of peace, might answer well enough; but in such an era as this, when seven months are more in public affairs than seven years in other times, it is such a scheme as no true Emancipationist would devise. It was shaped and carried by pro-Slavery men, in the expectation that it would accomplish the destruction of the Emancipation party, and in due time, after all rebels should be restored to the elective franchise, be repealed before it should take effect. It declares all slaves in this State on the Fourth of July, 1870, free; and in the same section imposes upon them subsequent periods of servitude to their late owners, during which the owners are to have the same authority and control over them, for the purpose of securing their possession and services, *that are now held absolutely by the master in respect to his slave.* That is, the eman-

cipated negro is to be, in fact, a slave, until the period of his servitude shall cease. The laws *now* regulating the relation of master and slave are to remain in force during all that period—until the very last slave in the State on the Fourth of July, 1870, escapes or dies. The Legislature will have no power to modify them in a single particular, as to the right of the master to the possession and services of the negro. The latter will be the subject of sale, as heretofore, except that, after the day set for nominal emancipation, he can not be sold to a non-resident of, nor removed from, this State, and if under forty years of age, can be sold for the period of his servitude only.

The only provisions of the Ordinance which have any direct present tendency to destroy the institution of Slavery among us, are those which declare that "all slaves hereafter brought into this State, and not now belonging to citizens of this State, shall thereupon be free;" and that "all slaves removed by consent of their owners to any seceded State, after the passage by such State of an act or ordinance of secession, and hereafter brought into this State by their owners, shall thereupon be free." For so much let us be grateful to our masters of the Convention.

But not so, not so, for that cap-sheaf of their work, which, from the date of the ordinance, exempts slaves from taxation through all future time. The master may hold the slave, and profit by, live upon, luxuriate in the avails of his labor, with the protection of the State, and every other benefit that taxation is designed to procure, but not a cent of tax is he to pay upon

his slaves. He may thus profit by his slave, with entire immunity from taxation, up to the very day before that fixed for Emancipation, and then remove him from the State, and sell him as a slave for life, and pocket the price of his flesh and blood. The owner of a house which may be destroyed by tempest or fire at any moment; the owner of horses or cattle, which are his means of living, and which may die at any time, must pay tax upon his house, horses and cattle, just as if they were to be his always; but the slave owner is to pay none upon his slave, because, seven years hence, the slave is to be transmuted into a servant. The white laborer is to be taxed out of his hard-earned pittance, but the profit from slave labor is to be diminished by taxation never a single cent. The very institution which has blasted Missouri is to be henceforth her untaxed pet. Property assessed in 1860 at some fifty millions of dollars, and even now, in the midst of war, claimed by slaveholders, when they would portray the wrong to them of Emancipation, to be worth that amount, is withdrawn from taxation, and the deficiency of revenue consequent thereon is to be made up by increased levy upon all other property and all vocations. And, worst of all, this immunity is directly and almost wholly *in favor of rebels and rebel sympathizers;* for it is to such that the great mass of slaves in Missouri belong. What is this but a premium set upon Slavery, a reward tendered to disloyalty, a sop thrown to traitors? Did that Convention suppose that in this exemption in favor of those who have brought measureless calami-

ties upon Missouri, they represented her loyal people? No, they knew they did not. But it was a body bound by association, feeling, and interest to Slavery, and, true to its instincts, it made this last grab in favor of an institution, which, if taxed to day to the full value of all the slaves in Missouri, would not repay her Union men what it has cost them in these two years of war, spoliation, and death. Shame upon such heartless rapacity! Down with that which breeds it! Away with those who ordain it as a fundamental law in Missouri!

But there are other acts of that Convention which demand special notice. If ever the rights of a people were trampled upon by their own servants, it was by that body, in its persistent refusal to allow the people of Missouri any voice in deciding upon that Ordinance of Emancipation. If ever there was a measure which should have been submitted to a vote of the people, it was that. If ever there was a body which should have asked for a popular vote upon its action, it was that Convention. Of all its members only eleven were elected in this year, and seven of them voted against that Ordinance. In every way in my power I strove to obtain a vote of the people upon it, and at one time it was carried; but a night's manipulation enabled the contemners of popular rights to triumph, and to send their edict abroad without the present possibility of an appeal to the people against it. They were resolved that the voice of the people should be stifled, and it was done! It is important that the facts in this connection should be exhibited circumstantially; and I

beg your attention while I state them, and show you how and by whom the gag was applied. You are interested, especially, in knowing how your own representatives there stood on this subject.

Let me first recall to your recollection that the Ordinance presented by Judge Breckinridge, in June, 1862, provided for a submission of the question of Emancipation to a vote of the people, on the first Monday of August, 1864. It is important that this be borne in mind, as well as that, on motion to lay that Ordinance on the table, the vote of the St. Louis members was as follows: *Ayes*—Messrs. Long and Shackleford. *Noes*—Messrs. Breckinridge, Bridge, Broadhead, Bush, Hitchcock, Holmes, How, Linton, Meyer, and Smith. Ten were then in favor of a vote in 1864, and two against it.

When the present Ordinance was before the Convention, Mr. Woolfolk moved an amendment, to the effect that the question should be submitted to a vote of the people at the general election in November, 1864. I immediately offered a substitute, fixing the time at the Judicial Election in November, 1863, and it was adopted, by the following vote:

Ayes—Messrs. Baker, Bartlett, Bast, Bonnifield, Bush, Doniphan, Drake of St. Louis, Dunn, Eitzen, Frayser, Foster, Gorin, Gravelly, Henderson, Hough, Isbell, Jackson, Jamison, Johnson, Kidd, Leeper, Lindenbower, Linton, Marvin, McClurg, McCormack, McDowell, Meyer, Morrow, Noell, Norton, Orr, Rankin, Ritchey, Rowland, Schofield, Scott, Shanklin, Smith of Linn, Stewart, Van Buskirk, Waller, Walker, Woolfolk, and Mr. President—46.

Noes—Messrs. Bass, Birch, Bogy, Breckinridge, Bridge, Broadhead, Calhoun, Cayce, Comingo, Deal, Devol, Douglas, Drake of Moniteau, Flood, Gamble, Gantt, Hall of Randolph, Hitchcock, Holmes, Holt, How, Howell, Irwin, Long, Matson, McFerran, McLane, Moss, Moxley, Phillips, Pomeroy, Prewitt, Ross, Sayre, Shackleford of Howard, Shackleford of St. Louis, Sheeley, and Smith of St. Louis—38.

Four St. Louis members, Messrs. Bush, Drake, Linton, and Meyer, voted for a submission to the people; and eleven against it, to-wit: Messrs. Breckinridge, Bridge, Broadhead, Gamble, Gantt, Hitchcock, Holmes, How, Long, Shackleford, and Smith.

The next day, on motion of Mr. Henderson, the vote was reconsidered; and upon putting the question again, my amendment was lost, by the following vote:

Ayes—Messrs. Allen, Baker, Bartlett, Bast, Bonnifield, Bush, Doniphan, Drake of St. Louis, Dunn, Eitzen, Frayser, Foster, Holt, Hough, Isbell, Jackson, Jamison, Johnson, Leeper, Lindenbower, Linton, Marvin, McClurg, McLane, Meyer, Morrow, Orr, Ray, Schofield, Scott, Shanklin, Smith of St. Louis, Stewart, Van Buskirk, Waller, Walker, and Mr. President—37.

Noes—Messrs. Bass, Birch, Bogy, Breckinridge, Bridge, Broadhead, Calhoun, Cayce, Comingo, Deal, Devol, Douglas, Drake of Moniteau, Flood, Gamble, Gantt, Gorin, Hall of Randolph, Henderson, Hitchcock, Holmes, How, Howell, Irwin, Matson, McDowell, McFerran, Moxley, Noell, Pomeroy, Prewitt, Ritchey, Ross, Sayre, Shackleford of Howard, Shackleford of St. Louis, Sheeley, Smith of Linn, Welch, Woodson, and Woolfolk—41.

This time, five St. Louis members were for referring the matter to the people, to-wit: Messrs. Bush, Drake,

Linton, Meyer, and Smith; and nine against it, to-wit: Messrs. Breckinridge, Bridge, Broadhead, Gamble, Gantt, Hitchcock, Holmes, How, and Shackleford; Mr. Long not voting.

This was the last effort made to procure a vote of the people directly upon the Ordinance. On the last day of the session, however, I made another effort in a different way, by proposing a substitute for the entire bill, providing for the election of another Convention on the Tuesday next after the first Monday of November next, and the taking of a vote of the people, at the same time, for and against Emancipation. If the majority of votes were for Emancipation, the new Convention should meet on the last Tuesday of December next; if the majority were against Emancipation, it should not meet at all. This substitute was lost, by a vote of 19 to 61.

Now, my friends, there is one strange thing about the votes of the St. Louis members on the proposition to submit the Ordinance to a popular vote. In June, 1862, Messrs. Breckinridge, Bridge, Broadhead, Hitchcock, Holmes, and How voted against laying on the table Judge Breckinridge's ordinance, providing for taking a vote of the people in August, 1864, and may be fairly considered as then in favor of taking the sense of the people on the subject. But when we came, in June, 1863, to the question of taking a vote of the people in November, 1863, as to the Ordinance about to be passed, they all voted against it, and Messrs. Gamble, Gantt, Long and Shackleford went with them; my friend, Sol. Smith voting both ways—

first against, at last for it. I do not assume to declare the motives which led those gentlemen to oppose a popular vote. They can do that, and when they do, you can judge what respect those motives are entitled to. But I will state the grounds taken in the discussion of the question.

In favor of a vote by the people, it was urged that the question was the most important ever brought up in Missouri, except that of secession; that the Convention was not elected with reference to it, except eleven members chosen in May and June of this year; that a number of the members did not represent by their votes the known wishes of their constituents in regard to Emancipation; that there was no good reason why, if the Judges of the Supreme and Circuit Courts could be elected in November next, the people might not, at the same time, vote upon this question; that they had a right to be heard on it; and that it was an outrage, for a body not elected with reference to Emancipation, to pass an Ordinance on the subject, and force it upon a muzzled people, who might be opposed to its terms, and would naturally desire the work to be done by men elected for that purpose.

Against taking a popular vote, it was urged that the State is in no condition for taking such a vote; that the disorder is such, that no fair expression could be had; that it was *possible* for Grant to be defeated at Vicksburg, and for Lee to take Baltimore and Washington; and *if* those things should happen, Price would invade Missouri, and the rebels would rise throughout the State! These were, in substance, the general

objections, but not the controlling ones. The real ground of opposition, which Messrs. Gamble and Henderson did not hesitate to avow, was, that if the Ordinance were submitted to the people, *it would be* REJECTED! And so the majority resolved to force it upon the people, whether they liked it or not, and gagged the people, because they would reject it!

Fellow citizens, if any such contemptuous disregard of the rights of the people has at any time been exhibited among us, I am ignorant of it. A body elected for a purpose which was expected to have been accomplished in the first six months of 1861, prolongs its own existence more than two years, and on the first of July, 1863, without any intermediate expression, in authentic form, by the people, and while the people are meditating the call of another Convention expressly to pass upon the subject of Emancipation, takes that subject out of their hands, adopts Constitutional provisions in relation to it, which are to bind the people forever, and refuses to allow them yea or nay on the subject! And that body, let it be remembered, had, one year before, in effect, declared its work done, its mission accomplished; for, on the 13th of June, 1862, it resolved that when it adjourned that session, it would adjourn to the Fourth of July, 1863, on which day it should, without assembling, stand adjourned *sine die.* No man then expected it would ever meet again, nor did any man suppose there would ever be occasion for it to do so. Nevertheless, to guard against unforeseen contingencies, the Governor was authorized to convene the body again, at any time prior to July 4,

1863, when in his judgment the public exigencies might require it. And upon his call, and moved by his sole will, it was re-convened, in June, 1863, to act upon the very last subject that any of its members, in June, 1862, would have imagined, after the Governor's message, on the 13th of that month, to which I have before referred, he ever would have called them to act upon; and the very last that they, if the matter had then been suggested as a ground of their re-assembling, would ever have consented to come together again to consider. For, had they not, only six days before they resolved to adjourn to the 4th of July, 1863, pitilessly slaughtered the only proposition of Emancipation that had ever been brought before them? And would they, on the heels of that act, have willingly left the door open for the re-introduction of that subject at any future day? Not they! not they! And yet the Governor who then put words into their mouths to justify their refusal to touch the subject of Emancipation, and recorded his personal and legal opinion that it was a matter upon which they ought not to act, because the people never intended or imagined that they might, could, should, or would *ever* act upon it, convenes them, within nineteen days of the period they had set for their own dissolution; and invokes them to act upon that subject, and himself takes a leading part in their action upon it, and in opposition to the people's having the least voice in determining whether that action should bind them, or not! That body, to be sure, was elected by the people; but did it represent the present mind of the people on this subject? If it

did, why not let the people say so, and thereby calm the public mind? If it did not, why gag the people? Who ever before heard in this country of a body elected to carry out the people's will on one point, substituting its will for theirs on another point, and then muzzling them, so that they can not speak if they die for it? My friends, what will you call this? For my part, let others call it what they may, I call it DESPOTISM—the exercise of absolute power, the wielding of authority unlimited and uncontrolled by men, constitutions, or laws, and depending alone upon the will of those who wield it. That is the definition of despotism, whether exercised by one man, holding absolute and irresponsible sway, or by many men, acting above and in disregard of the people's will; and as such I denounce it here in the presence of my constituents, and before the whole people of this State!

I beg you to notice by whom this was done, and the spirit in which it was done. Had you sat in the Convention, or witnessed its proceedings, you would have seen, as I did, that it was controlled by a solid column of pro-Slavery men, who knew that they were called together to take the work of Emancipation out of the hands of the people, and who performed the job as completely as if it had been done by a single man. It was a remarkable feature of the session, that the pro-Slavery members took very little part in the debates; and yet they moved as if impelled by a single will. On the call of the ayes and noes, their names followed in such uniform sequence together, that one could soon learn them and their order by heart. It

was as plain as daylight that no argument or appeal could disturb their fixed purpose to consummate the object of their convocation. They were bound together by a common and well-understood aim; and when the vote of the first of their number on the roll was heard, you might usually know how the rest would go. And yet, while there, I heard not of any caucus held by them, nor do I suppose they held or needed any. Each man knew what was to be done, and he wandered not from the path marked out for him. It was a consolidated phalanx, thinking, speaking, and acting in the interest of an institution, which they knew was rapidly nearing extinction in Missouri, and were determined to keep alive as long as they could, knowing that that was much longer than the people would allow, if once they could reach it. It was the same bold, resolute, and defiant disregard of the popular will, that was displayed by Southern leaders in precipitating the war which has so afflicted our country. They would have done worse, had they dared: they could not have done better, and be true to the spirit of domination, with which the champions of Slavery are ever ready to bear down opposition, and subject the majority to the arrogant will of an overbearing minority.

And now, fellow-citizens, in view of the case as it thus stands, the great and momentous question arises—What shall be done by the people of Missouri, thus deprived of their cherished right to be heard in the choice of their own rulers, and in the shaping of their own internal policy in regard to the infinitely important subject of Emancipation? No man could approach

this question with a more profound sense of its importance, than I do. It involved results which connect themselves with the whole future destiny of Missouri. It is not merely whether a particular scheme of Emancipation shall stand, but whether popular sovereignty shall stand. The people here are, theoretically, practically, and constitutionally, the source of power; and any body of men setting themselves up to make fundamental laws in defiance of the people's will, become thereby, in the particular case, despots in fact, whatever their intent. I do not say that each and every member of the Convention who voted to refuse the people a voice in the selection of their rulers, and in deciding upon the Convention's act of Emancipation, was actuated by a despotic spirit; but I do say that his action was, in fact, despotic, in the true sense of the term; because it was simply an arbitrary exercise of a power which was granted him for other ends; which the people never supposed would be exercised as it has been; which was wielded for the purpose of intercepting and defeating their action; and which was consummated with a direct and obstinate refusal to grant them the privilege of ratifying or rejecting the work of their servant-masters. And now it is demanded of us to submit quietly to all this, on peril of being branded as rebels! And this is flaunted in our teeth by men and public journals, which, for the greater part of the two years of this civil war, have nursed in themselves, and inculcated upon others, the spirit of rebellion, till they have forgotten the difference between an appeal to the ballot and an appeal to the bullet, and

can see in the former only a fit prelude to the latter. Such things are as meaningless to me as

> "Fee, faw, fum!
> I smell the blood of an Englishman;
> Dead or alive I'll have some!"

I know what the sovereignty of the people is, and how to maintain it. I know the obligation of constitutions and laws, and how to uphold them. I know that the power of the people is in orderly and lawful action, and to that alone I appeal. I have nothing to do with any other sort. Leave violence, insubordination, and rebellion to the minions of Slavery; we have had enough of them from that quarter. But we have a right to invoke the people to reverse the action of their own servants. We have a right to demand of our Legislature *the calling of another Convention* to declare and execute the PEOPLE'S will in regard to Emancipation. We have a right to vindicate popular liberty by every peaceful and lawful means, and we seek to do it only by such means. We have a right to arouse the people to a sense of the wrong they have sustained, and the dangers that threaten them. And we will do it! If by rightful appeals and agencies we can reach the popular mind, and turn it to the great work of rescuing popular sovereignty from the peril assailing it, we will do it! If by legitimate processes we can strike down the defenses of Slavery, and at the same time defend and re-establish the rights of the people, we will do it! We have not sought this issue. We struggled hard to have the people speak, but they have been silenced; to have them free, but

they have been bound; silenced and bound by their own trusted agents! But they will be heard, and will snap the cords with which it is attempted to tie them. And when they do so, let those stand out of the way, who, for the sake of the corpse of Slavery, tried to muzzle and manacle a free people!

THE WRONGS

TO MISSOURI'S LOYAL PEOPLE.*

I respond, without hesitation, to your invitation to address you; and as the period of our session must necessarily be brief, I will claim your attention no longer than may be necessary for a sufficient and truthful discussion of the circumstances which have led to our assembling.

Every member of this body will agree with me that those circumstances are extraordinary. From nearly thirty years' intimate acquaintance with Missouri, I am prepared to affirm that no Mass Convention of her people ever assembled under circumstances so extraordinary as those which surround us now. I congratulate you that you have the nerve and the patriotism to come from your distant homes, to show the world that you are able and willing to meet like men the exigency which is upon you.

We are loyal Union men, without any qualification or conditions; and we are, and are not afraid to declare that we are, RADICALS. That is, we are for going to

* A Speech before the Radical Mass Convention at Jefferson City, September 1, 1863.

the *root* of the infamous rebellion which has distracted our land for more than two years, and are for destroying that as well as the rebellion. That root is *the institution of* SLAVERY. From it the rebellion sprung, by it has been sustained, in it lives, and with it will die. And until that root is pulled up and destroyed, there is no hope of permanent peace in our country. Therefore I am for pulling it up, every fiber of it. And that is what I understand it is to be RADICAL. By that I stand or fall. The position is one which necessarily admits of no compromise. It is Country or Slavery; and he is a traitor who will compromise between them.

This, in a few words, is what I hold to be our character and position here to-day. I am not afraid to go before the world upon it. I should despise myself, if I took any other. It follows that I am for using every legitimate means to destroy the rebellion, and to crush down, wipe out, and utterly annihilate every development, form, and hue of disloyalty. I would pursue disloyalty through all its infinitive turnings and twistings, and hunt it down, ferret it out, and drive it forth, till throughout our State and our land no disloyal hand should be raised, nor disloyal tongue speak, against our glorious Union.

It follows, further, that I uphold the Proclamation of Emancipation issued by President Lincoln on the 1st of January, 1863. I believe that Proclamation to have been a Constitutional exercise of the war power of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, against public enemies. Were they foreign enemies, no American would question his right

to strike at their main support: I affirm his right to strike at any and every support of our domestic enemies—the worse, by far, of the two. And it was a righteous exercise of his power. Slavery assailed the nation of which he was the head, and he was bound to assail Slavery in turn, even to its very death. And I hold that his Proclamation did, in law, free every slave in all the region it covered, on the very day it was issued. Not one of them has been lawfully held in Slavery since that day; nor can one of them, in my opinion, ever be lawfully enslaved again. The Proclamation is irrevocable—as irrevocable as death. No attempt at its revocation can ever make slaves again of those it made free. I accept and uphold it as the end of Slavery in the rebellious States, and I demand its enforcement there by the whole warlike power of the loyal people of the nation, as the only means of restoring abiding peace to our bleeding country.

And holding it right to use every lawful means to overwhelm rebellion, I rejoice that the President is enrolling among our country's armed hosts those whom his proclamation freed. I have no squeamishness about arming the negro. I am no half-breed Unionist, sensitive about seeing white men fight alongside of the "American citizen of African descent." No traitor is too good to be killed by a negro, nor has any traitor a right to insist on being killed by a white man. If for the sake of Slavery he turns traitor, let former slaves be his executioners; it is a just and fit retribution. Disaffection, if not disloyalty, lurks in him who opposes the arming of the negro, let him call himself what he

may. For my part, I say the President, *Go on in this good work, till the army of blacks shall be large enough to hold every rebel in subjection;* and then rebellion is at an end for ever and ever in this land.

I have been thus plain in the expression of these views, because I believe them to be the views heartily entertained by the entire body of the Radical Union men of Missouri. I do not believe there is one such man in our State who does not hold them, and who is not determined to stand by them. They spring from the deepest convictions of stern duty to our country and to the cause of Liberty. With him who opposes them we have nothing to do but to oppose him, and by all rightful means put him down. And that, my friends, is just the work which the Radicals of Missouri have before them.

To us are opposed a portion of the people of Missouri, who style themselves *Conservatives.* And who are they? Let the plain truth be spoken. *They embrace all the disloyal.* Every rebel in the State is with them. Every open or secret Secessionist is with them. Every guerrilla and bushwhacker is with them. Every Copperhead is with them. Every man who opposes the radical policy of the Government against the rebellion is with them. Every man who is under bond for disloyal practices or sentiments, is with them. Every sympathizer with the rebellion is with them. Almost every pro-Slavery man is with them. And nine-tenths of the slaveholders, I believe, are with them. And along with this motley gang of open enemies to, or faint-hearted friends of, the Union cause, are asso-

ciated just enough of real Union men to save the concern from going down instantly under the weight of its inherent and envenomed disloyalty. Nothing keeps that party alive this day but the presence of those Union men in its ranks, *and the concentration of official patronage and influence, State and National, in their hands.* They are the sugar-coat to the poison-pill which is sought to be administered to the people of Missouri. They alone give character to Conservatism in Missouri. They have suffered themselves to be identified with that class of our population, which would drag Missouri out of the Union in a moment, if they could; and they are supported and urged on by every man in the State whose hand or heart has been or is against his country. I profoundly regret that any of them should ever have been found in such company; but they are there, and must share the fate which surely awaits every disloyal man, whenever Missouri's loyal people can once have access to the ballot-box.

Such, my fellow-citizens, is what you and I know to be the position of parties in Missouri this day. It is not a matter of conjecture or supposition; we *know* it. We know that throughout this whole State there is not one single disloyal man in the Radical ranks. We know that every disloyal man in the State is a Conservative. We know, and desire the whole world to know, that the struggle now going on here, though ostensibly connected with the subject of Emancipation, is, in reality, *between Loyalty and Disloyalty.* The Union cause is at stake again, and the result will determine whether the destiny of this great commonwealth is to remain in

the hands of its loyal people. For one, I will struggle, against all odds, in every lawful way, and to the last available moment, before I will yield the control of Missouri to her traitorous inhabitants. No such disgrace and disaster shall befall her, if in my power to prevent it.

As, from the moment of the outbreak of the rebellion, the spirit of shameless lying has characterized those engaged it, and those who are with it in heart, so now the main weapon of the Conservatives of Missouri against the Radicals is atrocious and persistent falsehood. We are charged, as a body, with purposes which we have never expressed or entertained. A strenuous effort has been made, upon the basis of false and wholly groundless imputations, to build up in opposition to us a so-called "Law and Order party;" and "Law and Order meetings" have been held in some counties, at which the Radical Union men have been denounced in the same category with rebels and bushwhackers. We have been stigmatized as "Jacobins;" as "revolutionary factionists;" as "engaged in schemes looking to revolution and violence;" as "in rebellion against the Union and the Constitution;" as "attempting to overthrow the State Government;" as "the party of commotion, and violence, and crime, and anarchy, and disregard of all law:" and "men of all parties, who are in favor of preserving the peace of the State, of enforcing the laws, and protecting citizens from violations of the laws," are invited to attend "Law and Order meetings;" where the "erring brother" returned from "Price's army," the bushwhacker, the

Secessionist, the Copperhead and the "Southern sympathizer" skulk in, to help men claiming loyalty pass resolutions defaming and denouncing the Radical Union men of Missouri! It is the old game of the pursued thief crying "stop thief!" There is but one way to meet it, and I have so met it wherever I have spoken in this State. I say here, in the capitol of the State, as I have repeatedly said elsewhere, that whoever, directly or by implication, in speech, in writing, or in print, charges upon the Radical Union party of Missouri any intent of revolutionary violence or unlawful act, utters an atrocious *lie*. I like not to use that word in a public address: but the circumstances, in my opinion, demand it. The true Union men of Missouri have suffered enough of outrage and defamation at the hands of her disloyal people. We ought not quietly to submit any longer to be branded as unfaithful to our obligations as law-abiding and patriotic citizens. We are in heart and soul loyal to our country, to law, to duty, to honor, and to truth: and that is infinitely more than he who has been, in fact or in feeling, with this hell-born rebellion, can say, or in his conscience—if he has any—would dare to say he is.

My friends, that there is excitement among the loyal people of Missouri can not be denied. The presence here to-day of this large Mass Convention, from every part of the State, affirms it. And there is cause for excitement. The loyal inhabitants of this ill-fated State have suffered more than those of any other State that has adhered to the Union. They have endured every form of aggravated and unmerited wrong.

Loyalty to the Constitution and the Union has brought bitterness to them. Their property has been wrested from them by pillaging bands of traitors; their habitations have been given to the flames; they have been murdered in cold blood; and they have been disarmed by the authorities in whose support they were ready and willing to do all and risk all; thereby becoming an easier prey to the blood-thirsty fiends that infest wide districts of our State. Surrounded by treachery the most adroit and cruel; beset by devilish marauders, whose appearance they know not when or where to guard against; trembling by day and by night for their possessions and their families; worn and wasted by robbery, arson, and every outrage; and apparently given over utterly in many places to the grasp of the guerrilla and the bushwhacker; they are, in large portions of the State, harassed, impoverished, and overborne by accumulated calamity, beyond any conception of those who only read the meager reports which find their way into the public journals of the day. Is it a marvel that they are excited? Would it not be wonderful if they were not? What other people ever endured so much without excitement? Shall men sit quietly down and with indifference see themselves despoiled, beggared, and driven forth as fugitives from their homes? Have we got to that point when fathers can look with stoicism upon the slaying of their sons, and wives upon the murder of their husbands? If we have, then has the time come when popular excitement should be put down, as detrimental to the body politic. But that point is not yet reached. Our hearts are

not yet callous to our own miseries, or to those of others. We are not able to see why such full, heaping measure of wrong should be dealt out to loyal people, while the disloyal eat and drink and sleep and work and journey in peace and safety. We do not comprehend why protection should be so fully accorded, as we know it to be, to men of known disloyalty, while the loyal citizen is not only not protected, but has been required to forego his Constitutional right to bear arms, and to surrender to the military power the weapons upon which alone he could depend for protecting himself, his family, and his property. We do not understand why military officers who pursued the miscreants of blood and plunder with an energy that threatened their extermination, should, without a word of explanation, be relieved of their commands, or mustered out of service, in the midst of their career, and succeeded by men under whose administration the work of spoliation and blood is plied with renewed vigor and success. We do not see why large numbers of men—or indeed any—who at the onset of the rebellion were outspoken and offensive Secessionists, should be appointed to high military positions under the State Government, while men always and unconditionally for the Union are refused such positions, or thrust from them. We do not perceive why men of thorough and consistent loyalty should be arrested and imprisoned by the military authorities, for no assigned cause, or for so small a cause as questioning the wisdom and purity of Governor Gamble's administration and policy; and we resent such arrests, and ought

to resent them. And least of all do we comprehend why the earnest and beseeching appeals of Missouri's loyal and suffering people to the head of the nation for protection, should, apparently, be intercepted or neutralized, and he be made to believe that they proceed from a "pestilent faction," whose aim is to "torment" him. It is because of all these things that there is excitement among the loyal people of Missouri; and I say that they would deserve to suffer on, if they were not excited. But it is not an excitement which threatens or looks to any lawless or reckless proceeding. It asks only redress for incalculable evils, by lawful means; and this Convention is one of the means it takes to make itself heard and felt in quarters where, to hear and feel it, may remove or mitigate the sore trials under which our people have suffered. God grant that those in power may give heed to the voice of Missouri's loyal people, before that burden becomes intolerable!

But not in these matters alone, bitter and hard to be borne as they are, have the loyal Union people of Missouri been wronged. While Conservative policy has left them to be pillaged and murdered, it has gathered its strength and put forth its hand to wrest from them their rightful control in the affairs of Missouri, and to shape the fundamental law and the organic institutions of our State, *according to the behests of her disloyal people.* A coalition has been formed to overthrow the Radical Union party, and deliver the State over to the dominion of that Conservative party, which contains all the disloyalty of Missouri. At the head of

that coalition is Governor Gamble; and he is sustained in it by almost every Federal office-holder of any note in the State; by a host of State officers appointed by himself to positions of high importance, civil and military; and by an army of politicians, who are seeking their own advancement, and know that from the Radical Union men of Missouri they have nothing to hope. No such combination has anywhere been made against the loyal people of any loyal State. It is the great feature of the day in Missouri. It is known to every observing man in the State, and it attracts the attention of the country. I wish to portray its course of wrong to Missouri's loyal people. I will do it plainly, fairly, and thoroughly; for I deem it of the greatest moment that, in this State and throughout the loyal States, the position of our affairs, and that of the men who have wronged that people, should be clearly understood. I will endeavor to present a historical summary of the leading facts, in such simple and connected form, that no man can fail to comprehend the whole matter.

The point at which I begin is the accession of Governor Gamble to the Provisional Chief Magistracy of Missouri, on the 31st of July, 1861; for from that time the course of public affairs in this State has connected itself directly with the circumstances of the present period. His first public declaration as Governor was significant of his own opinions and feelings, and of those of the people he was appointed to govern. On the 4th of August, 1861, he issued a proclamation to that people, in which, referring to his appointment, he

said it "*would satisfy all that no countenance would be afforded to any scheme or any conduct calculated in any degree to interfere with the institution of Slavery existing in the State, and that to the utmost extent of Executive power that institution would be protected.*" Concerning this remarkable declaration two things are apparent: *first*, that Governor Gamble was then, and desired it to be known that he was, a pro-Slavery man, and intended to be a pro-Slavery Governor; and *second*, that he believed the people of Missouri to be a pro-Slavery people; as, in my opinion, a large majority—perhaps seven-eighths—of them then were. This proclamation is the first point to be borne in mind; for it assumes importance in connection with subsequent events.

The sentiments of the people of Missouri in regard to the institution of Slavery underwent a radical change, not many months after that proclamation was issued. They came, by slow but sure degrees, to understand that this rebellion had but one origin and purpose—the aggrandizement of Slavery as a political power, the destruction of the noble Republic inherited from our fathers, and the substitution for it in the South of a great and strange Empire, based on Slavery, and intended for subjugation, piracy, and eventual dominion over this whole continent. When they saw it announced authoritatively by the parties engaged in the work of founding that empire, that they were only consummating what had been in conspiracy for forty years; when they saw that for Slavery the Southern aristocrats were striving to overturn the liberties of

the American people, disrupt their Union, and destroy their Constitution; when they perceived that the success of this unexampled and incomparable scheme of outrage, fraud, perjury, and treason, would plunge this nation into perpetual war, and that as long as Missouri should be a slave State, she would be one of the chief victims of that war; when, I say, all these things became manifest to the loyal people of Missouri, a mighty revolution in their opinions concerning Slavery began, and from month to month moved on with tremendous rapidity and force. Never, I will venture to affirm, was there witnessed in this country so marked and swift a revolution of public sentiment in regard to so important a matter. And it was all the more glorious, because it sprung from a glowing and vital patriotism, which rejoiced in any sacrifice of opinion or interest in so holy a cause. While Southern traitors were demanding the emancipation of Slavery from contact with the free institutions of the North, the loyal people of Missouri demanded her emancipation from contact with that institution, which they recognized as aiming fatal blows at all they loved in the country, all they cherished in memory, and all they clung to in hope for themselves and their posterity.

The tendency of the public mind to the removal of Slavery from Missouri received a decided impulse in April, 1862, in consequence of the passage by Congress, upon the recommendation of the President, of a resolution, declaring "that the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of Slavery, giving to such State pecuniary

aid, to be used by such State in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system." The great obstacle to Emancipation in Missouri was the provision in her Constitution, prohibiting the Legislature from passing any law "for the emancipation of slaves, without the consent of their owners, or without paying them, before such emancipation, a full equivalent for such slaves so emancipated." As such compensation from our own resources was an impossibility, the resolution of Congress held out the hope of its coming from the National treasury, and feeling in favor of Emancipation received therefrom increased force and extension.

With the loyal sentiment of Missouri in this transition state from decided pro-Slaveryism to radical anti-Slaveryism, the State Convention assembled on the 2d of June, 1862, on the call of the Governor. On the 7th of that month, Judge BRECKINRIDGE introduced into that body an Ordinance proposing a plan of gradual Emancipation, to be submitted to the people for their ratification or rejection, on the first Monday of August, 1864, and supported it in a speech; at the close of which, on motion of Judge HALL, of Randolph, the Ordinance was laid on the table, by a vote of 52 to 19; and to use a well-known and significant expression exultingly applied, at the time, to the act, Emancipation was "*killed at the first pop.*" The Convention thereby pronounced itself opposed to Emancipation. It was a pro-Slavery body, and of course intolerant. It would hear no more on the subject than

what Judge BRECKINRIDGE had a parliamentary right to urge, and having heard that, it was prepared to consign his proposition, and did consign it, to a tomb from which there should be no resurrection.

Six days after this act of the Convention, on the 13th of June, Governor GAMBLE sent a message to that body, relating entirely to its action on Judge BRECKINRIDGE'S Ordinance. He saw that that action "might be represented as rudely discourteous to the President and Congress," and "would, without doubt, be so misrepresented as to excite a hostile feeling to the State, among all those in authority who favor Emancipation, and thus *injuriously affect the interests of the State.*" The object of that message, manifest upon its face, was to tell the members of the Convention how they might get out of the twofold scrape they had got into, with the National Government and with their own people. Not a word indicated the least sympathy with emancipation; not a word took off the keen edge of the pro-Slavery proclamation of August, 1861. The Governor was still Missouri's pro-Slavery Governor. Eighteen months of Slavery's war upon the Union had, apparently, implanted in his mind no sentiment against the peculiar institution, here or elsewhere; his sole anxiety was, that there should be "no appearance of a design to treat the offer of the President and Congress with neglect." He suggested, and most truly, that "it was not contemplated by the people, when electing the body, that it should *ever* act upon the subject of Slavery in the State, and therefore such action would be improper;" a reason as valid

for all future time, as then. He suggested further, that "the public mind was so agitated already, that the proposal of any scheme of Emancipation would produce dangerous excitement; a reason for non-action fully as forcible in June, 1863, as in June, 1862. These suggestions he accompanied with the following remarks:

"In theory, Conventions are understood to possess all political power, but in actual practice they confine themselves to the measures upon which the people at the time of their election expected them to act. When this Convention was chosen, the subject before the public mind was the relations between the State and the general Government. Acting upon this subject, the Convention deposed a Governor and Legislature, because they were trying to disturb those relations; militia ordinances were adopted, because a military force was necessary to maintain those relations; the offices of all persons who refused to take an oath of allegiance were vacated, because official power in the hands of disloyal persons might be employed to disturb such relations; laws were vacated, because they had been passed for the purpose of bringing on a collision with the general Government—in fine, the action of the Convention has been mainly addressed to the one subject which it was elected to consider, and to those which arose out of it.

"When, then, it is asked to entertain a proposition, which is to effect a radical change in the social organization of the State, it is well warranted in declining to act upon the proposition, upon the ground that the people, in choosing the Convention, never intended or imagined that the body would undertake any social revolution wholly unconnected with the relations between the State and General Government. No per-

son who understands the principles of our Government would object to such action, unless it be one who is willing to disregard all principle to accomplish a desired end."

As I said on a former occasion, so I reiterate now, that this language embodies and affirms the following five propositions:

1. That Emancipation is a social revolution.

2. That it is wholly unconnected with the relations between the State and general Government.

3. That the people, in choosing the Convention, *never intended or imagined* that it would undertake to act on the subject of Emancipation.

4. That, therefore, the Convention was well warranted in declining to act upon it.

5. That whoever, understanding the principles of our Government, would object to the Convention's so declining to act, is willing *to disregard all principle* to accomplish a desired end.

No grounds could have been assumed more fatal to the propriety or expediency of any action by *that* Convention, at any time, upon the subject of Emancipation. We shall see, as we proceed, how the Governor maintained his own voluntarily-assumed position.

There is a striking fact disclosed by the Journal of the Convention in connection with the paragraphs just quoted from the Governor's message. The Convention, acting upon his suggestion, proceeded to consider how it should respond to the resolution of Congress. A committee was appointed, which reported a preamble and resolutions. Lieutenant Governor HALL

offered, as a substitute for the report of the committee, a preamble and resolution, the latter of which was as follows:

"*Resolved*, That while this Convention recognizes the liberality of the Government of the United States in the action referred to, yet the Convention thinks it should not act upon the subject of Emancipation, for the following among other reasons."

The resolution then copies, word for word, the paragraphs of the Governor's message above cited, except the first and last sentences. On the vote upon the adoption of that substitute, every member who voted for it declared himself emphatically as sustaining the Governor's objections to *any* action by *that* Convention, at any time, on the subject of Emancipation. And yet, one year afterward, Lieut. Gov. HALL was one of the committee that reported an Ordinance of Emancipation for that body to pass; and fifteen of those who voted for his resolution in June, 1862, changed front in June, 1863, and voted for the ordinance then passed by that Convention!

Having seemingly given a death-blow to Emancipation in that body, the Convention adjourned to the 4th day of July, 1863, when, without reassembling, it was to stand adjourned *sine die*. It declared its work done, and each man went his way, never expecting to return. But the door was left open for the reassembling of the body, upon the call of the Governor. One man held the power to reinstate at any moment the rule of that Convention; and we shall see how he exercised it.

Five months after the Convention's action upon Judge BRECKINRIDGE'S proposition, an election was held for members of the General Assembly. They were months of steady and rapid progress in the popular mind in favor of Emancipation. Every day the loyal people of Missouri grew more radical in sentiment against Slavery, their country's enemy. Missouri's Emancipation army was "marching on." The election resulted in the choice of a decided majority of Emancipationists in each House; but unfortunately, *mainly through the machinations of Federal office-holders, high in position in our State*, differences of opinion as to plans of Emancipation were created. The Legislature met on the 29th of December, 1862, and on the following day received the Governor's message. To the surprise of many who remembered his proclamation of August, 1861, and his message to the Convention in June, 1862, he declared himself in favor of Emancipation, and recommended action by the Legislature in relation to it. But he felt the embarrassment produced by the Constitutional limitation upon the power of the Legislature, before referred to. As it was impossible for the State, unaided, to pay any such equivalent for the slaves emancipated as that provision required, the Governor recommended that an act should be passed, providing that the children of slave women, born thereafter, should be born free, and should remain in custody and under the control of the owner of their mothers until attaining a certain age; which plan, he considered, would require no compensation to be paid to the slaveholder but for "*the dimin-*

ished value of the female slaves thus rendered incapable of bearing slaves." And such an act, so utterly impotent to remove Slavery from our soil,—for, standing by itself, it would never have secured freedom to one-tenth of the children born after its passage,—he intimated might be made to take effect, upon this provision being made by Congress for the small amount of compensation required!

This was gravely proposed by Governor Gamble as a plan of Emancipation; proposed as an "effectual mode of extinguishing the desire of the rebel leaders to have this State within the pretended Confederacy;" proposed as a means of "encouraging immigration from the free States!" It would have been about equal in its effects to dropping a homeopathic pill into the proboscis of a sick elephant. I refer to it, because it is a fact connected with the wrong done to the loyal people of Missouri, which is to be exposed.

The Legislature sat from the 29th of December, 1862, to the 23d of March, 1863, and then adjourned over to the 10th of November next, having done nothing to advance the cause of Emancipation. On the 18th of March, the Senate, by a vote of 17 to 15, passed a Concurrent Resolution, requesting the Governor to call the Convention together at an early period, for the purpose of taking into consideration the subject of Emancipation; every Conservative voting for it, and, aided by two Radicals, passing it. *No attempt was ever made to take up this resolution in the House*, nor could any such attempt have been successful. On the same day, the Senate passed a bill for the election of

a new Convention, provided the old Convention did not, before the succeeding first of July, adopt a scheme of Emancipation. Two attempts were made to get this bill up in the House; but it required a two-thirds vote to suspend the rules; and each time the effort failed by a single vote. And with both resolution and bill thus pending in the House, and open for action when the Legislature should re-convene in November, the adjournment took place. But let it not be supposed that the effort in the House to get the bill up, indicated any desire among the Emancipationists there to pass it in the shape in which it came from the Senate. On the contrary, it was perfectly understood that if it had been got up, the provision referring to the old Convention would have been certainly struck out.

The facts which I have thus stated in detail are all necessary to a correct understanding of the case. Let us now examine their bearings upon the main point—the wrong done to the loyal people of Missouri.

I have placed before you Governor Gamble's message to the Convention in June, 1862, and his message to the Legislature in the following December; and how does the matter stand? Why, thus. In his judgment, at the former period, the Convention had no business to act upon Emancipation at all, because the people, in choosing it, never intended or imagined it would undertake to act upon that subject; and therefore the Convention was well warranted in killing Judge Breckinridge's Ordinance; and no one would find fault with it for so doing, unless he was *willing to disregard all principle.* So much for the Convention. Then, as

to the Legislature, he finds that it is hampered by a Constitutional provision, which precluded any action on its part, except to declare that after-born children of slave mothers should be born free; and that action was suggested to take effect only when Congress should provide the means for paying the owners of the mothers for the injury resulting to them from making the mothers incapable of breeding any more slaves. Here, then, was a Governor declaring himself in favor of Emancipation, and arguing in favor of it to a Legislature that was in favor of it, but almost powerless to do anything for it, which Legislature represented a people that were overwhelmingly in favor of it: what was the course he should have taken? Can any right-minded man hesitate in declaring that, if the Governor was earnestly an Emancipationist, he should and would have pointed the Legislature to some way by which the popular will might be carried into effect? As matters then stood he found the way blocked: why did he ignore the only way that lay wide open—*a direct appeal to* THE PEOPLE, *in the election of a new Convention?*

This is no idle question. Every man knows that he can often judge another as well by what he does not, as by what he does. If a man is drowning, and you do not throw a rope to him when you have one, because you have tried to save him with your hand and failed, would not all the world say, and say justly, that you were indifferent to his fate, or wanted him to drown? And so, when Governor Gamble recommended Emancipation to the Legislature which was powerless, and

also held that the Convention ought not to act upon the subject, because it was not elected for any such purpose, and at the same time said not one word in favor of, or in allusion to, that other course which if pursued, would have secured Emancipation, and secured it as the people desired it, and so settled the matter forever: I demand, and have a right to demand, why he preserved that silence? Will it be said it was not his province? He is required by the Constitution of the State to "recommend to their consideration such measures as he may deem necessary and expedient." Will it be said it was not proper for him to suggest that particular mode of action? Why not? He could suggest to the Convention excuses and arguments to sustain their action on Judge Breckinridge's Ordinance; and he could suggest Emancipation to the General Assembly, and argue in favor of it: why not suggest and support the only means of obtaining Emancipation in such way as to satisfy the people? Will it be said that he could not have known that a recommendation from him on that point would have helped the measure? He had no right, for that reason, to withhold it, any more than to refuse to recommend any other measure, because he didn't know whether it would be adopted. But nothing is more certain, than that, *if he had advocated a new Convention, an act providing for it would have been passed.* But here came in a bugbear, that was paraded, during the whole session of the Legislature, to defeat the bill for a new Convention, viz: that if a new Convention should be called, there might arise a conflict between it and the

old Convention. But that was impossible, unless Governor Gamble, after the new Convention was authorized, should call the old one together again; for it never could meet again, except upon *his* call. And so it was perfectly in his power to have procured a new Convention, and also to have prevented the reassembling of the old one. Why did he not so do? I can not say upon his authority, for he has never told me, or, so far as I know, told the world. I am forced to conclusions upon the facts as they are known to the public. If my conclusions are unjust to Governor Gamble, I am sorry for it; I do not *seek* them. I say, citizens of Missouri, that I can see no other reason for his utter silence in regard to a new Convention, than that he did not intend that the people should have any further opportunity to say or do anything whatever, practically, on the subject of Emancipation. In other words, *he determined, if possible, to wrest the whole matter out of their hands, and force Emancipation upon them through the old Convention*, regardless of their wishes, and in defiance of their sacred right to shape their own fundamental law and their own domestic institutions. This is the only conclusion I can arrive at, and before God, I believe it to be a right one.

That it was Governor Gamble's purpose so to use the old Convention, is manifest from subsequent events. The Legislature adjourned on the 23d of March, 1863, and on the 15th of April he issued his call for the Convention to meet on the 15th of June, to "consult and act upon the subject of Emancipation of slaves,

and such other matters as may be connected with the peace and prosperity of the State." In his judgment, it was "of the highest importance to the interest of the State that some scheme of Emancipation should be adopted."

My friends, looking at this act of the Governor in the light of his previous declarations, and of the then condition of things in the State, I can not but regard it as one of the most extraordinary exercises of Executive power that have ever fallen under my observation; and as indefensible as it was extraordinary. Why, look at it. Only ten months and two days before the date of that call, he had solemnly declared to the Convention, that the people, in choosing that body, never intended or—mark the word—*imagined* that it would undertake to act on the subject of Emancipation: and now he calls them to do that very thing! He had told the Convention, moreover, that it was justified in killing an Ordinance of Emancipation in the way it did; and yet he calls it together to pass such an Ordinance. He had, with a severity of expression unusual for him, declared, in effect, that no man of principle would have that Convention act on that subject; and yet he convenes it for that very purpose! What does this mean? Was it the same man speaking in June, 1862, in condemnation of *any* action by that Convention upon that subject, who, in April, 1863, called them to act upon it? Yes, it was the same Governor Gamble in body, but unfortunately not in mind. A change, a wondrous change, had come over his opinions in that brief time. He no longer saw that it was wrong for that Conven-

tion to take Emancipation in hand and act upon it, but contrariwise saw it was right; *though the grounds upon which he based his previous opinion remained precisely the same.* He no longer held that any man who wanted it so to act was an unprincipled man; for he wanted that very thing. He saw no more that Emancipation was a social revolution, wholly unconnected with the relations between the State and the general Government, which the people, in choosing that Convention, never dreamed it would undertake. And, above all, he forgot that for such a body, so elected, to assume to act upon such a subject, was a grievous wrong to a people who were at that very time represented by another set of men, in their General Assembly; who had been elected twenty-one months after the Convention, and actually had pending before them propositions looking to a settlement of the whole matter by a new Convention, to be elected for that express end.

It is due to Governor Gamble, and to the cause of truth and fair discussion, that I should take time and space to present whatever grounds I find anywhere taken by him in defense of his recall of that Convention, as it were, from the brink of its grave. He has twice expressed himself in relation to that matter; *first*, in his message to the Convention, at the opening of the late session; and *secondly*, in a speech he made in the Convention on the 27th of June. In his message he used the following language:

"The importance of the subject [Emancipation], in its relation to all the interests of the State, demanded, in my judgment, very speedy action by a body capable

of finally disposing of it, by the adoption of some wise and just scheme of Emancipation. The Senate passed a joint resolution requesting me to call the Convention together, and also a bill for the election of delegates to a new Convention, provided your body should not, before the first day of July next, adopt a scheme of Emancipation. Although neither of these measures was acted upon in the House of Representatives, yet the friends of Emancipation in the House exhibited the greatest earnestness in endeavoring to have the bill which came from the Senate acted upon by the House, and were only foiled by the application of stringent parliamentary rules. This action in the Assembly gave strength to my own conviction, that you should be called together, rather than wait until the Assembly should again convene in November next, and then initiate measures of Emancipation, which might require some time before they could have effect."

In his speech in the Convention he thus expressed himself:

"This Convention is called in this city that there should be Emancipation—*that there shall be Emancipation.*

"It is said that this is in conflict with the communication I made to this body last session. What is that communication in its general scope? I say that an answer is demanded to the offer of the General Government. The present position of the question here is such that you can not act upon it; and why? Because you have laid it upon the table, which is a final disposition of the subject. I state reasons which you might assign as reasons for the course you adopted.

"The suggestions offered were made for the benefit

of the Convention, and to make a courteous answer to the President and to Congress."

In these two extracts we have all that the Governor has said, so far as I know, in defense of his calling that Convention to act on the subject of Emancipation. The singular vapidness of the latter will attract attention. It gives no answer to the charge of inconsistency, takes back nothing, explains nothing. His justification, if any, is to be found in the passage quoted from his message to the Convention; and let us examine that.

He says he called the Convention together, because, *first*, in his judgment, "very speedy action" was demanded; *second*, because the Senate had, by a majority of two votes, passed a resolution requesting him to do so; *third*, because the Senate had passed a bill for the election of a new Convention, provided the old one did not, before the first of July, 1863, adopt a scheme of Emancipation; and *fourth*, because the friends of Emancipation in the House exhibited the greatest earnestness in endeavoring to have that bill acted upon by the House.

My friends, I confess to a feeling of sadness and humiliation at such an exhibition on the part of one so high in station, for whom, for more than a quarter of a century, I had entertained the highest respect. Never before, probably, did a high public officer in this country more expose himself to criticism and condemnation, than did Governor Gamble in that assignment of reasons for that act. The utter insufficiency, the absolute puerility of such a defense, must

be apparent to the most limited comprehension. Nay, more and worse, does it not bear the plainest marks of insincerity? Why was "very speedy action" necessary? What circumstances forbade that Emancipation should be postponed until the people could act upon it through a new Convention? He states none, nor can any man designate any. But if they existed when he issued his call on the 15th of April, they must have existed before the adjournment of the Legislature on the 23d of March: why, if there was such urgency, did he not communicate it to that body, and let it provide for the exigency? The old Convention was elected twenty-eight days, and assembled thirty-eight days, after the passage of the act authorizing it; what was to prevent a like promptness in the election and assembling of a new Convention? Had the Legislature passed an act to call a new Convention, it might have have met, passed an Ordinance of Emancipation, and adjourned, before the day he fixed for the old Convention to assemble; and so the "very speedy action" would have been had, sooner than it was had at the hands of the body which assembled in obedience to his sole will. As to the reasons based on the proceedings in the two branches of the General Assembly, they are not worthy of argument or notice. To the whole batch I simply oppose his own declaration, in 1862, "*that the people in choosing the Convention never intended or imagined that the body would undertake any social revolution wholly unconnected with the relations between the State and the general Government;*" and his still more emphatic announcement, in the

same paragraph, that "*no person who understands the principles of our Government would object to such action* [*as that upon Judge Breckinridge's Ordinance,*] *unless it be one who is willing* TO DISREGARD ALL PRINCIPLE *to accomplish a desired end.*" Let Governor Gamble reconcile himself with himself, if he can. If he can escape his own denunciation, it is more than I could, were I in his position.

But not alone on the grounds so stated by Governor Gamble was it a wrong to the loyal people of Missouri to summon that Convention to the great work of Emancipation. Even if those grounds had not existed, there were others which made it offensive and injurious to the people for that body to handle that great subject. Elected in February, 1861, it was in no respect, except in the persons of the eleven members elected in May and June, 1863, to fill vacancies, an authentic exponent of the public sentiment of Missouri when it assembled to make its final record. *The constituency of* 1863 *was, in law and in fact, wholly different from the constituency of* 1861. The Convention itself, in June, 1862, had prescribed new conditions for the exercise of the elective franchise, requiring the taking of a solemn and searching oath of allegiance, and expurgation from complicity in the rebellion after the 17th of December, 1861, as a pre-requisite to the right of voting. Every man who would not take that oath was banished from the polls, was disfranchised as a voter, was not one of the people whose will was to be considered. The control of the State had passed, by fundamental Constitutional enactments, into the

hands of its loyal people, or those who would stand that test of their loyalty. That Convention, therefore, was no embodiment or representative of the will of the rightful constituency of 1863, but of a former and a different constituency; a large proportion of which was then in the armies of the rebellion, or pursuing the bloody work of the bushwhacker, or skulking at home in self-imposed abstinence from the right of suffrage, because he dared not appeal to God to witness its freedom from the stain of treason, or the sincerity of its allegiance to the noblest Government He ever vouchsafed to man. When, therefore, the Governor convened that body to perform the glorious work of Emancipation, he convened a body which, whatever its legal power, had no more *moral right* to do that work, without submitting its action to the present constituency, that is, the *loyal* people of Missouri, than the Legislature of Maine or Minnesota would have had.

Not only so, but more. It was a body which had shown itself, a year before, opposed to the consideration even of the subject of Emancipation, and it has never signified that its views had changed on that point. True, it ordained what it termed Emancipation; but not because it desired or favored that great measure; but because it was resolved to prevent its accomplishment by, and according to the desire of, the loyal people of the State. No man lives who dares affirm that a majority of that Convention were for Emancipation on principle, from conviction, or in feeling. It was essentially a pro-Slavery body. Of the fifty-one members who voted for the ordinance

passed, forty were slaveholders; a few of whom should be honored for their advocacy of the cause of Freedom for its own sake: all the rest were but *playing a part.* And it was a body, the control of which was in the hands of men whose past acts there gave evident token of disloyalty. *Eighteen were there, who voted in July*, 1861, *against the deposition of Governor Jackson;* and sixteen of them—all who were present at the time, and more than enough to have changed the result in each case—voted, in 1863, against an election of a Governor and other State officers by the people, and for the exemption of slave property from taxation; and eight of them—more than enough to have changed the result—against submitting the ordinance of Emancipation to the people for ratification. Twenty-one were there, who voted, in 1861, against turning out the traitorous Legislature of that year. Sixteen were there, who voted against the abrogation by the Convention of the treasonable laws enacted by that Legislature. Twenty-two were there, who voted against the test-oath ordinance of June 10, 1862, intended to exclude traitors from the polls. Sixteen were there, who had voted against allowing our brave soldiers to vote in their camps beyond the limits of the State. The efficient control, in fact, was in the hands of those who had in such ways signalized their disloyalty; aided by seventeen, who were bound to the Gamble dynasty by offices of trust and profit received from it. And this was the body which, as Colonel Doniphan said at Liberty, after its adjournment, was convened by Governor Gamble, on the request of "cer-

tain *wealthy slaveholders* residing in different parts of the State." For what purpose? To ordain Emancipation according to the will of the State's loyal people? No; but that "*something should be done to save slave property from utter waste and spoliation, and give to slaveholders a brief opportunity to make the best disposition in their power of their slaves!*"

From such a body, convened on such a principle, controlled by such influences, and working to such ends, what could be expected, other than has been realized? Called ostensibly to destroy Slavery, it labored disloyally for its preservation from the early doom which the loyalty of Missouri, if it could have spoken, would have awarded it, and postponed Emancipation, nominally, until the 4th of July, 1870, but in fact for a quarter of a century longer. While there were those who desired and labored for Emancipation for its own sake, and for the sake of Missouri and the Union, the potential influence was, at heart, against Emancipation on any grounds, and equally against every radical measure against Slavery anywhere. Few there yielded their pro-Slavery views in obedience to the anti-Slavery sentiments of their people; but there were numbers there who knew that they utterly misrepresented the popular will in the districts whence they came. Nothing concerning the body was more true or more apparent, than that, pretending to favor Emancipation, it was resolved to postpone it to the last possible moment, and to yield it on the least possible injurious terms to the slaveholder. And even that was done with the open avowal by some, that before the period fixed for

the emancipation of the negro from slavery, and his transmission to a condition of servitude, *the people would elect three Legislatures;* justifying the inference that, before that period should arrive, the work of the Convention might be repealed. Of Emancipation obtained at the hands of such a body, in the form it was pleased to grant,—pro-Slavery Emancipation, if such a solecism is allowable,—Governor Gamble was the chief engineer; showing himself still, to my mind, to be, as he was in 1861, Missouri's pro-Slavery Governor. True, the date he at one time proposed for Slavery to cease, nominally, in Missouri, was not that finally fixed; but even in the same breath that he expressed himself as desiring the 4th of July, 1867, he announced with remarkable accommodativeness, "I am willing to receive *any* action that, in *your* judgment, is best." But some action he was resolved should be had, then and there, and he staked his official position as Governor upon it. In his speech to the Convention, on the 27th of June, this paragraph occurs:

"If, after having exercised my best judgment upon this subject, I have called this Convention together for the purpose of action, and it should separate with the expression of a contrary opinion, or without adopting any scheme of Emancipation, I would not feel myself at liberty to continue in the exercise of the Executive function. I would feel, as a Minister in England, when a proposition of his is voted down in the Commons, that it is a denial of the correctness of his judgment as to the proper policy of the State, and he resigns at once; so I would not feel at liberty to continue in the Executive office, if the Convention did not pass some scheme of Emancipation; because it would be a judg-

ment adverse to what I think should be the policy of the State."

And the pro-Slavery Convention, the balance of power in which was held by men whose past acts there proclaim them disloyal at heart, bowed to the Governor's demand for "*some* scheme of Emancipation," because his continuance in office was necessary to them and their plans, and the price of it was *any* scheme of Emancipation *they* might choose to adopt! Easy terms! facile Governor! pliant Convention! and all that "something should be done to save slave property from utter waste and spoliation, and give to slaveholders a brief opportunity to make the best disposition in their power of their slaves."

Had Governor Gamble been half as solicitous for the people's approval of his administration, as he was for the Convention's—half as fearful of a popular "denial of the correctness of his judgment as to the proper policy of the State," as he was of such a denial by the Convention, he would have been a wiser man and a better Governor. He would then have known that the loyal people of Missouri long ago abandoned all hope of him as a defender and supporter of true, uncompromising loyalty in our distressed and ravaged State; and that since what he deemed "the proper policy of the State" has been inaugurated by him, *there is not a disloyal man or woman in all Missouri that is not his backer.* Truly, "the laborer is worthy of his hire," and the Governor has received his. He enjoys position, power, influence, but at what a terrible price! But all his other mispolicies are of transient

moment, compared with that upon which he put his hazard in that Convention. Almost the life-breath of Missouri hung upon action there. His influence shaped that action, not for the cause of Emancipation and the Union,—one and the same in Missouri—but for Slavery, the Union's enemy, and for slaveholders, almost all its enemies, too. He lent the weight of his age and office, his name and his personal character, to a scheme for the support of Slavery, and the overthrow of the great loyal party in Missouri, and in that Convention he won, but lost all with loyal Missourians. To a man hastening on to threescore and ten and the grave, what earthly gain can overbalance such a loss?

I have thus, my friends, endeavored to place before you the circumstances of the wrongs suffered by the loyal people of Missouri, through the policy of Governor Gamble, and the acts of the dead Convention, which he—the only man on earth that could do it—called to life again. In all American history there is no parallel to it, except in some of those Southern States, where secession and rebellion were forced upon the people by the aristocrats of Slavery. Thank God! however, there is virtue enough left in the loyal people of Missouri to raise their voice against the attempt to trample upon their most sacred rights. They raise it here to-day; not in revolutionary shouts, not in sedition, not in disregard of law, not in derogation of the duties of true citizenship, not in any unlawful or unauthorized way; but with the high and holy purpose that despotism shall be forced to recoil before the moral power of an aroused people. We are here to

speak, to judge, and to do what becomes freemen, in a manner suited to freemen. The cry of the arch-traitor was, "*All we ask is to be let alone!*" and the pro-Slavery emancipationists of the defunct Convention shout the same cry. But they are not to be let alone. They are to be made to feel that they can not commit treason against Popular Sovereignty, and be let alone. They are to learn that there is a People, to whom they are accountable, and upon whose necks they can not put their feet with impunity. They are to be taught that they can not snatch the work of Missouri's regeneration out of the hands of her loyal men, and then sing them to sleep. They are to understand that their work is rejected by the people, and they, too. They ask us to accept their ordinances as a finality: we do accept it as a finality—*of them!* But, conceived, as it was, in wrong to the people; planned as it was, in the interest of Slavery; brought forth, as it was, by a body which was so conscious of its wrong, that it refused to let the people pass upon it, avowing through their leaders that the people would reject it; and upheld, as it is, by every rebel, Secessionist, bushwhacker, and Copperhead in the State; we, loyal men of Missouri, who love our country more than Slavery—who have borne patiently all that has befallen us, for the sake of the Union—who have consecrated our all to the maintenance of that Union against all enemies—and who are determined, come what may, to rebuke, denounce, and overthrow disloyalty, whatever form or guise it may assume—*we* REJECT *that Ordinance as a finality of* THE QUESTION. We, and our brethren in loyalty in

Missouri, are able to manage the affairs of Missouri, and we will do it. We ask no interference or help from traitors or their friends, in office or not. We will bide our time, as loyal men should, looking for the day of deliverance. It will surely come. This is the day of the office-holders and the politicians, the rebels and their sympathizers, the pro-Slavery men and their courtiers; the day of the PEOPLE will come, and with it confusion, dismay, and defeat to all who have dared to take part in the attempt of that Convention to dominate Missouri in the interest of Slavery. Let it not be said, as Mr. Henderson is reported to have said, that the Ordinance is the best that could be procured *under the circumstances!* Who made the circumstances? Who but he and those who acted with him? And shall they make the circumstances, and then plead them in their own extenuation? Let them stand aside, and the people will make other circumstances, from which something better will come forth, of measures and of men.

Let us not, my friends, lose sight of the great and vital truth, that not only is this a struggle for Popular Sovereignty, but for *loyal supremacy in Missouri.* In that view no man can compute its importance to us as a people. If we sleep now, all is lost. The loyal men of Missouri are her rightful sovereigns. If true to themselves and to the great cause which in the providence of God is committed to their keeping, all will be well. Missouri loyalty has become an honored name in the land. It imports all of dauntless bravery, stern resolution, and heroic fortitude, that could illustrate the character and glorify the history of any people.

Let us be true to our record and our fame, through to the end. If we have no country, we are wanderers, if we have no Government, we are a prey to tyrants; if we have no Union, we have neither country nor Government. All lives or dies with the Union. Let our souls cling to it, our fortunes sustain it, our hands uphold it, and, if need be, our blood flow for it. For nearly three years we have had to defend it. Let us defend it thrice three more, if such be the will of God; defend it against the traitor in arms and the traitor in heart; against the open and the secret foe; against the wily politician, the cunning plotter, the unscrupulous schemer, though he wrap himself in the bright folds of the Stars and Stripes; against perfidy, treachery, and disloyalty in every form, everywhere, always, to the glorious end that awaits us, if we are true. This our work is not in the South—it is here, in Missouri. We are beset on every side by the armed rebel, the prowling bushwhacker, the Southern sympathizer, the devotee of Slavery, all, openly or covertly, the Union's enemies. And they are ours, too. They are striving for the mastery in Missouri. The calling of that Convention to ordain Emancipation was a part of their game. The next move will be to secure a Legislature that will repeal the test-oath ordinance, which excludes them from the polls; and then will come the reign of disloyalty, the repeal of Emancipation, the triumph of Slavery, the hunting down and driving out of Union men—all, all will come. Meet the issue here and now. Proclaim that Loyalty *shall* govern Missouri. Demand of the General Assembly a law authorizing the election

of a new Convention, wherein the people, not politicians and office-holders, shall speak. Demand that the people be permitted to elect their own rulers. Demand Emancipation, *immediate, unconditional, final.* Demand the perpetual disfranchisement of every man who has taken part, here or elsewhere, in this damnable rebellion. Enforce your demand by every lawful agency, device, and influence, with energy and fidelity, with firm confidence and steady perseverance; and there is no power on earth that can resist you. Justice and right are with you; every loyal heart in the land is with you; the great and precious principles of free government are with you; the mighty People are with you; and, in the not distant future, victory will be with you, and defeat and oblivion with all in Missouri who oppose the sacred cause of Popular Sovereignty and the Union.

THE CALL FOR REBEL VOTES.*

The hour is so late that I should decline to trespass upon your time to-night, had I not learned this afternoon at five o'clock of the publication in the *Missouri Republican* of this morning—my copy of which was not left at my residence,—of a document, which is so extraordinary, so atrocious in its character, that it demands notice by some one on the first occasion when it can be brought before the public mind. Short as the time has been since it met my eye, I propose to attend somewhat to it now.

The document to which I referred, was published today over the signatures of SAMUEL T. GLOVER, O. D. FILLEY, JOHN HOW, WILLIAM CARSON, AUSTIN A. KING, WILLIAM A. HALL, JOHN S. PHELPS and R. C. VAUGHAN. It is too long to read to you; but I advise all of you to obtain and read it, and say whether I have not spoken truly in pronouncing it one of the most atrocious publications ever made in Missouri. My friends the whole object of that document, addressed though it is to "the *loyal* people of Missouri," is to array the disloyal against the loyal people of this State. It is a bid, a shameless and defiant bid for the support

* A speech delivered in St. Louis, October 17, 1863.

of the whole disloyal population of Missouri, in the election to take place on the 3d day of next month. And this bid is made by men who have heretofore been counted loyal—who have, indeed, in times past, done good service to the cause of their country! Time was when the Unconditional Union men of Missouri loved to honor some of the men whose names are signed to that paper; but now what is the position of those men? By that publication they have placed themselves in the van of Missouri disloyalty, and stand before the world as the leaders of that party which, with a small body of recognized Union men, in it, embraces every Secessionist, bushwhacker, guerrilla, and rebel in Missouri! Those Union men are to screen from the world's view the hosts of disloyalty they are leading on against the true patriots, the Unconditional Union men of our State! Yes, it is that, and nothing else. I defy them to point to a single man in the Radical Union party in this State, whose hands are stained with loyal blood, or whose garments smell of the smoke and fire of loyal habitations. But this invócation is intended to reach thousands upon whom that stain rests; thousands who have been robbing and murdering Union men, and burning their houses, and turning their wives and children abroad upon the world's cold charity; thousands who in this cruel war have sympathized with rebellion; thousands who from the day Sumter fell to this, have never drawn a loyal breath, or done a seemingly loyal act, except under compulsion. Has anything like this been seen before? Who would have believed that it would ever have been seen in Missouri?

This document is a libel upon Missouri's loyal men, more infamous than ever was concocted in this State before. Let these men, and all who affiliate with them, beware! Let traitors of every hue beware! They talk about our being a revolutionary party: it is infamously false. But, though we are no revolutionary party, let them beware! There is a point beyond which the endurance of the most patriotic and law-abiding man, and that of the most earnest Christian will not go. Never have a loyal people endured more than have the loyal people of Missouri at the hands of her disloyal men. Traduced and vilified on every hand; hunted down in many quarters almost like criminals under the hue and cry; scanning every bush on the roadside, for fear it may conceal the fiend whose stealthy shot may be their death; going to bed at night with their doors barricaded and their guns laid beside them in their beds; persecuted by men in office, and almost proscribed by a Governor who claims to be loyal; and all because they are radical Union men: such is a faint outline of what the patriots of Missouri have had to endure at the hands of those to whom this rallying cry has been this day addressed, by men who have in time past been held to be loyal! Again, I say, let them beware! The day may come, which many, with devilish purpose, have been seeking to bring on, when patriotism and duty can restrain no longer. They have pressed Union men on every side, with every form of aggression, indignity, and wrong, all the while howling that they were Jacobins and revolutionists, and all the time hoping that some retaliation, wrung

from Union men, would give them the opportunity of shouting—"There, did we not tell you that this was a revolutionary party?" I hope in God that no such day will come; but if it does, let no man lay it to the charge of the Radical Union men of Missouri; but to that of the men who for more than a year past have carried on an infernal war upon them.

This document sets out with informing the loyal people of Missouri, that "in the present condition of our political affairs there is cause for both congratulation and alarm." You will see presently what is their cause for congratulation. Their cause for alarm is, that the day is at hand when the Radicals of Missouri will, at the polls, sweep away the disloyalty of Missouri like a cobweb; and hence they invoke the aid of every disloyal man, and of every man who has heretofore stayed away from the polls because he dared not perjure himself by taking the oath required of every voter. This is the cause for their alarm. Let them tremble under it until the 3d of November, and then exchange it for despair.

This document goes on to say—"*A few straggling and marauding guerrillas, formidable only by the smallness of their numbers and the stealth and rapidity of their movements, constitute all that remains of the great armed outbreak of* 1861." "A few straggling and marauding guerrillas!" That is to say, twelve hundred men led by Coffey and Shelby, march from the southern border through the populous counties of the Southwest, to the city of Boonville, plunder it to their hearts' content, and march out of Cooper county with one

hundred and fifty thousand dollars worth of booty! How did they get there? Who let them go there? Where were the militia to whom Governor Gamble has been so anxious to commit the keeping of Missouri's peace, and by which he declared "he could hold the State as quiet as a sleeping child in a nurse's arms?" Where were they? That twelve hundred men could march into the very center of Missouri, pillaging, burning and slaying, is a brilliant commentary upon this text of Messrs. Glover & Co. "A few straggling guerrillas" forsooth! If that is their estimate of the twelve hundred whose raid is the fresh event of yesterday, what would they say of twelve thousand? Perhaps they would count them a little bigger affair, but no great thing after all. And this is "all that remains of the great armed outbreak of 1861," is it? What has become of the lesser bands of guerrillas and bushwhackers, that prowl through large sections of our State? And what has become of the thousands, yea, tens of thousands of traitors that inhabit the State, more unmolested, more protected, more courted by certain classes of politicians, than ever true Union men were? What has become of the multitudes of them now swarmed into this city from exposed parts of the State? What has become of the thousands and thousands who, living in peace in every part of the State, are the feeders, guides, spies, informers, and protectors of those "few straggling and marauding guerrillas," those incarnate devils whose deeds are as dark as hell itself? They are still among us—the *Secesh Home Guard* of Missouri! They are here, too, to vote in answer to this

call. And they are more dangerous than the men in the bush. They meet you, shake hands with you, inquire after your health, find out where you are going, and point one of the "few straggling and marauding guerrillas" to the track of your lonely journey, and the next that is heard of you is that you lie murdered on the highway. This is no exaggerated picture. It has its original in many parts of Missouri. You in St. Louis can form no conception of the condition of those parts of our State, until you go near enough to them to learn the daily facts. There you will find the midnight murderer of the Union men, plowing the next day in the field, and when told of the murder he himself committed, will, as Colonel Jennison remarked to-night, be the most astonished man in the county. And there you will find thousands such as I have described, to whom this address of these eight gentlemen is an invitation to come to the polls, and by their votes on the 3d of November, practically disfranchise just so many thousands of the loyal men of Missouri.

My friends, these gentlemen know very well whom they are talking to; very well, indeed. Listen how they talk to them:

"The secessionists of Missouri are manifestly tired of the war, which, in a period of violent, and unreasoning passion, they inaugurated against the peace of the State and their own pecuniary and social interests. History hardly furnishes an example of rashness equal to that of the secession war in Missouri. * * * At length they see their folly, and despair of success, and, with few exceptions, have

abandoned secession, and now have no other wish than to remain at peace."

Now, mark! they speak of the war which the secessionists of Missouri inaugurated, as begun "in a period of *violent and unreasoning passion*," and say that "history hardly furnishes an example of *rashness* equal to that;" and that the secessionists now "see their *folly*;" but they have not one word of condemnation for their act as a hellish crime against their country! Who can not bear to be told that he has acted in violent and unreasoning passion, and been guilty of rashness and folly? But tell him he is a traitor, guilty of the highest crime known to human laws; that his hands are red with the blood of Union men; that he has burned his neighbor's house and driven his wife and children forth homeless and destitute; that he has betrayed his friend to his death; that he has warred against the best Government the world ever saw; in one word, that he is a monster and a villian, and ought to be put to death any hour of the day; this he don't like to hear, and this is just what these eight loyal gentlemen don't tell them. Why not? Is there any conceivable reason, but that the votes of just such creatures are wanted on the 3d of next month to overwhelm the Radicals? I can see none. And that is the way the thousands of Missouri's disloyal people are to be marshaled to that work. But I glory in believing that on that day they will meet a complete and disastrous overthrow.

But they "*have abandoned Secession, and now have no other wish than to remain at peace!*" Abandoned

Secession! In heart? No, not for an hour! Sirs, I tell you they are as vile traitors, at heart, this day, as they ever were before, though they take ten thousand oaths, and give millions of dollars of bonds. They drop Secession as the flying thief drops his booty, to save himself. For more than two years they have been warring against their country, and now they come back and drop their arms, and set up for good citizens, unwashed of the loyal blood on their hands, unpardoned by God or man of the fiendish crime that has polluted and depraved their souls. They came not back because they love the institutions of freedom under which they were born, and which they have vainly tried to destroy; but because they see that Secession is going to perdition, and they do not care to go there, too. And "they have no other wish than to remain at peace!" Wonderful meekness! They have fought and killed patriots as long as it promised to be profitable, and now they are for peace! who would not be for peace, when he could get it on such cheap terms, and have his vote courted by loyal men in the bargain!

But "*thousands and thousands of them have renewed their allegiance to the Government and become obedient to the laws.*" That is, they have walked up and taken the oath! And what is a traitor's oath of allegiance worth? As well expect Lucifer to respect an oath of allegiance to Heaven, if he could be induced to take it. In multitudes of instances this has been shown, by finding upon these persons when they have been killed in arms, the written evidence of their hav-

ing before "renewed their allegiance." And this is one of the classes of men whom these eight gentlemen address, as loyal people of Missouri, and whose votes are to be cast on the 3d of next month against the Radicals. I agree with those gentlemen, that in the return of those "thousands and thousands" there is "cause for congratulation;" not to our country or our State—not to the cause of freedom—not to loyal men here or anywhere; but to all who wish, on the shoulders of these blood-stained traitors and murderers, to ride into power in Missouri. But their congratulation will be turned into mourning before another month goes by; unless, indeed, our "erring brethren" should be much more numerous than I expect.

The gentlemen who have signed this document are not the only ones who seem to find cause for congratulation in the return of those "thousands and thousands" of peace-loving traitors. Major General BLAIR made a speech in this city recently, in which he expressed himself on this point in such terms as to leave no doubt of his willingness to receive back into full citizenship the men who are now warring against their Government and country, and at whose hands he may at any moment meet his own death on the field of battle. He says:

"Those are the sentiments of the patriots of New York. They declare that whilst they will listen to no terms from rebels and make no tender of peace to rebels in arms, yet when they lay down their arms they may resume their places in the American Union. Is that the language held by a faction of a party in this State? Why, there are some men in this State

who appear to be alarmed lest the rebels should lay down their arms and come back into the American Union. They are alarmed lest they may do that. They say that it is a thing to be mourned, and to be provided against beforehand—that they must be disfranchised. No such language comes from the patriotic Union men of the great North."

No wonder that no such language comes from the North; for there nothing is felt or known of the evil which these returning rebels bring with them. We have occasion to be alarmed, when the danger faces us of Missouri's passing under disloyal control, through the votes of these rebels. And here is the very evidence of that danger. General BLAIR is willing to receive them back, and Messrs. GLOVER & Co. issue an address placing them on a par with you, ever-loyal citizens, because, after a career of incomparable crime, they "have renewed their allegiance" by oath and bond, and "have no other wish than to remain at peace?" For offenses of lesser grade than treason men are disfranchised; but that crime of all crimes is to be overlooked, forgotten, forgiven, being only an outbreak of "violent and unreasoning passion," only "rashness," only "folly!" I say, cut them off from all participation in the rights of the citizenship they have degraded—from all control in the Government they have aimed to destroy—disfranchise them at least for a term of years, or until a general amnesty restores them to the privileges they have forfeited.

Having thus made fair weather with the whole brood of traitors, guerrillas, and bushwhackers, these gen-

tlemen turn upon the Radical party, in such terms as the following:

"A radical, revolutionary party has arisen in your State, hostile to order and good government, and whose principles and policies are averse to peace. They are unwilling that men who have at any time sympathized with the South, however anxious they may be to obey the laws and remain in allegiance to the Government, shall do so, *unless they are willing to unite in their party organization and adopt their political heresies.*"

Now, I will venture to speak for the Radicals of Missouri, and you will bear me out in it, and if I could be heard by every one of them, every one would say Amen, when I say that the Radical party does not wish in its ranks a single one of those who have been traitors under any circumstances whatever. If we can't manage Missouri's affairs without their help, we don't care to manage them at all. But there are among us those who have sympathized with the South, and have honestly quit sympathizing with it; and I defy any man to show when or where any Radical ever showed himself unwilling to have such obey the laws and remain in allegiance to the Government. It is a foul and baseless slander.

But the signers of this document go further, and charge us with "*urging that the military power shall continue to wage war upon these people, seize and take away their property, and cast them into prison or exile, or shoot or hang them.*" Who are meant by these people? "Men who have at any time sympathized with the South." There is not a man here who does

not know that that charge is false. Missouri is full of those sympathizers; and when has the military power "waged war" upon them, merely because they were sympathizers? Never. Some of them have had some of their money taken from them by military power, to make a better use of it than they would themselves; and some, of peculiarly offensive stripe, have been imprisoned or exiled; but not half as much of either has been done as ought to have been. But there are thousands of sympathizers,—enrolled as such, too, to avoid military duty,—who have lived in the enjoyment of greater peace and security than many Union men, and no man has urged or counseled military interference with them, as long as they only sympathized with the South.

But, say these gentlemen,—"*In many portions of your State, the most atrocious murders have been committed upon such persons* [*that is, sympathizers*] *in a spirit of revenge.*" Very well admit it to be true. I see in this crowd a number of gentlemen from the interior of the State, who know about this matter. I ask you, gentlemen,—if the room were full of such, I would ask them all,—is it not true that for every disloyal man murdered in the interior, twenty Union men have met their death by murder! [Cries of "Yes" from many quarters.] And worse than that. While it is true that disloyal men have been murdered in the spirit of revenge, the Union men of Missouri have been slain by thousands, not in the spirit of revenge, but *because they were Union men.* Is it not so, men from the country? [Cries of "yes, yes."] True, true, every

word of it. Slain in cold blood and not in the heat of revenge—slain because they chose to be patriots instead of traitors!

And here is another charge. "*Let a wrong be done by a guerrilla in any neighborhood, and the policy of this party is to visit the punishment due the guerrilla upon every man who ever sympathized with the rebellion, regardless of his present* status, *and in fact upon whole classes of persons, making no discrimination between the guilty and the innocent.*" This refers to a military policy adopted at one time in this State, of making disloyal men in a particular county responsible for outrages committed upon Union men in such county. I am sorry that that policy ever was abandoned. It was, in my opinion, a great mistake to abandon it. Had it been persevered in rigidly over our State, thousands of lives of Union men and hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of property of Union men, would have been saved. At Baltimore, recently, I saw my old friend, General Schenck, Commander of the Military Department which includes the State of Maryland, and learned from him the effect of such a policy in that State. After he assumed command there, the barns of some Union men were burned, and all attempts to discover the perpetrators of the deed were fruitless. General Schenck obtained a list of all the disloyal men in the neighborhood, and assessed the damage upon them, according to their ability, collected the money from them, and paid the Union men for their barns. The Secesh complained, of course, of the injustice of making them pay for that which

they had no hand in doing. "But gentlemen," said that noble General, "you are disloyal to your country, and your disloyalty encourages others to such deeds; and you must be an Insurance Company, to insure every loyal man's property in your neighborhood." And since that day there has not been a barn burned in Maryland. And so, if we had a General in this Department who would do that, there would be peace and security for Union men in Missouri.

But, my friends, what means this labored effort by these eight gentlemen on behalf of sympathizers with the South? Is it not wonderful that such true and loyal men as SAMUEL T. GLOVER, O. D. FILLEY, and JOHN HOW, should, all at once, be filled with sympathy for these sympathizers? What is the secret of it? *The votes of sympathizers are wanted in the coming election*, and "that's what's the matter!" And to get them, these gentlemen must sound the depth of every disloyal heart, and array every man in the State, who ever was disloyal, against Missouri's loyal citizens! And I say to them, I accept the gage of battle thus thrown down. No better time than now to meet that issue. If Missouri is to be dominated by Disloyalty, let us know it now. If, while Pennsylvania, Ohio and Iowa thunder their rejection of Disloyalty in the ears of the nation, poor Missouri is to be delivered over to the accursed dominion of rebels, traitors, bush-whackers, and their sympathizers, led on by recognized Union men, let her go; but let her not go without a loyal, brave and faithful struggle.

And now I come to the charge even more atrocious

than some I have noticed. "*If any man (no matter how loyal he may be,) owns a slave, he, in their opinion, is necessarily a rebel, and his life and property are both endangered.*" I say that that is utterly false, in whole and in all its parts. I believe it to be true—and every man here believes it to be true—that nine-tenths of the slaveholders of Missouri have been and are to-day disloyal, as far as they dare to be. But I do not say, and never have said, nor do I know any one that ever has said, that every man who owns a slave is necessarily a rebel. I know slaveholders who are as truly and firmly loyal as any non-slaveholders in the State; and I honor them for it. But "his life and property are both endangered," are they? Sirs, I call upon every man here to bear witness that, in large portions of Missouri, a disloyal man is far safer in his person and property than a loyal man; and that, too, after two years of the administration of a Governor who sets the great seal of the State to a vindication of his loyalty. But what is this charge, but a renewed appeal to every disloyal man to come to their support? What is it but a rallying cry to slaveholders to fight anew on Missouri soil the battle of Slavery against their country? It is just these things, and nothing else. I, for one, accept the defiance, and will see the conflict out to the end, be the result what it may.

Further on, these gentlemen say that we call the Provisional Government of this State a usurpation. Upon this point I have a word to say. I recognize the legality of the Provisional Government. I do not,

therefore, hold it to be a usurpation in the legal acceptation of the term. But while I admit the legal right to be in Governor Gamble, to exercise the powers of Governor, I say that in point of *moral* right his government is as clear a usurpation, as ever was on earth. Why? Because though appointed to office with the understanding that an election for Governor was to be had, as our Constitution requires, the Convention ordered that he should continue Governor until November, 1864; and when, in June last, he resigned his office, that body, representing a constituency of February, 1861, which was entirely different, in law and in fact, from the constituency of 1863, refused to allow the people to elect his successor, and asked him to withdraw his resignation. That Convention (only eleven of whose members were elected in 1863), when it was about to die, fastened upon the people a government which their votes had no agency in placing in power: deliberately and audaciously refusing to give back to the people the power originally entrusted to it, and never expected to be wielded to any such end. I say that the men who will retain power under such circumstances, and the party that kept them in power, are all parties to a moral usurpation, and the public sentiment of mankind will stamp the act with condemnation.

Again, these gentlemen say, "*They counsel armed resistance to the authority of the Provisional Government.*" "They?" Who are "they?" I know none who so counsel. Why do not these gentlemen name the men who do? I deny the fact and demand the

proof. I say that the man who utters that charge is a calumniator.

But, my friends, here is the most precious tit-bit in this whole document. "*It is proper, however, to remark that the most of those who have been so industriously engaged in vilifying and misrepresenting all of the acts of the State Government are disappointed aspirants to office, or ingrates who have held office under the Government, and been dismissed for misconduct or incompetency.*" Who have vilified or misrepresented the acts of the State Government? God knows, no man need resort to vilification or misrepresentation of those acts: let him speak the truth, and that is enough. But there are "disappointed aspirants to office," are there, assailing the State Government? Verily, people who live in glass houses should take care how they throw stones. Who signed this document? Why, there's SAMUEL T. GLOVER, who was beaten last year for the Legislature, and failed last winter, in the Legislature, to be elected United States Senator! And there's O. D. FILLEY, who was beaten last spring for Mayor of St. Louis, by the young CHAUNCEY FILLEY here. And there's JOHN HOW, who was beaten some time ago for the same office. And there's JOHN S. PHELPS, who was beaten last November for Congress by "Pony" BOYD, and couldn't get elected Senator of the United States last winter. An interesting quartette to talk about "disappointed aspirants to office," truly!

But to proceed. This document further says: "*You will also find that these wholesale slanders*

against the Government are unsupported by a single fact susceptible of proof." Well, I don't know what slanders they refer to; but perhaps they hold to the old English law doctrine, that *the greater the truth the greater the libel.* If so, Governor Gamble's administration is the best libeled administration in the country. If it is a slander to say that Governor Gamble's policy is to grasp enormous power, then I am a slanderer. Look at his power of removing all officers of the Missouri State Militia, exercised under authority of the War Department, granted at his request. Look at the exercise of that power over Radical Union men, displaced without cause, to make room for Conservatives. And look at the enormous power he wields through the Enrolled Militia, a body of troops organized and brought into the field under his mandate, and compelled to serve without authority of law. Look at the management of that force all over this State. See the effort made everywhere to put Radical men out of command, to make way for Conservatives, numbers of whom were formerly outspoken Secessionists. Who does not believe that General Loan was mustered out of service, because he was, in Governor Gamble's judgment, too severe upon rebels and their sympathizers? Who does not believe that Colonel Penick shared the same fate for the same cause? Who does not know that his regiment was broken up, because the men were too Radical? Who does not know that as soon as an officer is understood to be a Radical he is ousted; and that when the men of a company show themselves

Radicals, they are disbanded or scattered among other companies where they will be under more Conservative influences? And does not everybody know that, through the agency of Governor Gamble or his partisans, General Curtis was removed from the Department of the Missouri, because of his radical measures against the disloyal?

But not to pursue this enumeration, I have some documents to lay before you, which I think have not before seen the light. On the 5th of March last there was published in the *Kansas City Journal of Commerce* an editorial article, of which the following is the material part:

"GOVERNOR GAMBLE.

"To the observer who scans the operations of the military under the Governor Gamble's control closely, it is clearly apparent that a certain line of policy has been adopted which is more like a grasp after political power, by courting popularity with the secession sympathizers, than an effort for the suppression of the rebellion and the restoration of peace and the enforcement of the civil laws. Governor Gamble, as he evinces by every act, adheres strongly to the "State Rights" doctrine; and the question now is, whether Gamble is trying to accomplish covertly what Claiborne F. Jackson endeavored to do openly. That Gamble *is* no better Union man naturally than Jackson was, is believed by many. The difference between them is considered to be, that Gamble has undertaken to do by strategy, what he had the good sense to know Jackson, nor no other man, could accomplish by force. The signs of the times indicate, that if Gamble has been playing his cards to that end, he will fail, for if he shall pursue the course hitherto followed by him, it will necessarily end in his being impeached and deposed — *or another revo-*

lution in Missouri. The people of the State can not and will not suffer themselves to be robbed, tortured, and murdered, for years, to give time to the heartless politicians to build political nests, which shall be filled with golden eggs and despotic power. The time will soon come when the loyal portion of the State will demand a *change of tactics*, and they will get it if they have to take it by force. Gamble has managed to ingratiate himself into the good graces of President Lincoln, and consequently the President has no ear for any one but Gamble, and therefore the loyal people of Missouri *remain unheard.*

"It may be asked by some, if this is so, why do not the loyal papers and officers of St. Louis agitate the matter? The reason is plain enough. They are not, strictly speaking, under the Governor's jurisdiction; they do not feel the pressure of the thousands of little thumbscrews that the Governor is constantly applying, through his minions all over the State. They know nothing of the doings of his appointees, only as it comes to them in smothered mutterings occasionally. They have little idea of the manner in which the ten or twenty thousand soldiers in the State, who, divided up into hundreds of little squads, are used (unwittingly) not to put down the rebellion, but rather to keep it alive by so controlling as to give the bushwhackers an opportunity to utterly annihilate Union men in slow but sure degrees. The proof of all this is but too convincing. What are Generals McNeil, Loan, Colonel Penick and others doing now—the only officers that have ever given us even the semblance of peace? Their hands are tied; and they are helpless. Where is the army of the Southwest, and General Schofield? Echo answers, where? Governor Gamble *is responsible* for this condition of things. If we wanted to know the secret spring that moves him in this action, and we should look into his heart, we have no doubt we should

find an inscription on its tablet to the following effect: "I believe the United States confederacy will be divided into thirty-four sections, and if they are, Missouri belongs to me."

Concerning this article I am free to say, that had I been the editor of that paper, I would not have published or written it. In some of its features I regard it as unjust to Governor Gamble, and its general tenor is, in my judgment, injudicious. But still I do not think it any just cause for the course which the Governor saw fit to pursue concerning it, as indicated in the following letter which he wrote to Colonel Dick, then Provost Marshal General of Missouri:

JEFFERSON CITY, March 14th, 1863.

"*Lieutenant Colonel Dick, Provost Marshal General:*

"COLONEL: I enclose you a slip from the *Kansas City Journal of Commerce* of the 5th instant, of which paper Mr. D. K. Abeel is the editor and proprietor.

"While the State Government is and has been earnestly and faithfully engaged in co-operation with the Government of the United States in suppressing rebellion, it is manifest that any attempt to excite what this editor calls "*a new revolution*" is an attempt to involve the State in a war among its own citizens, which will but aid the common enemy in overrunning and reducing us to subjection.

"I do not intend to enter upon any vindication of my loyalty. None but a knave of the blackest dye can doubt it. But with a view to the peace of the State and the maintenance of the authority of the United States, I wish you to have this man Abeel immediately arrested and brought to St. Louis, to be confined during the war.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"H. R. GAMBLE."

In this letter you have a fair sample of what might be expected, if the supreme power were lodged in the hands of our Provisional Governor. Fortunately he addressed on that occasion an officer who had too much sense, and too good a knowledge of his official duties, to allow himself to be used to inflict the Governor's vengeance. The following was Colonel Dick's reply:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI,
OFFICE OF THE PROVOST MARSHAL GENERAL,
ST. LOUIS, MO., March 18, 1863.

"*H. R. Gamble, Governor:*

"I received yesterday the letter of your Excellency of the 18th, enclosing an article from the *Kansas City Journal of Commerce;* for the publication of which you request me to cause the editor of that paper to be arrested, brought to St. Louis, and imprisioned for the war.

"I can not concur in the opinion of your Excellency that such a course of dealing with the editor would conduce to the peace of the State.

"There has been continuously through the war in the newspapers, much violent and malevolent abuse of those in authority, of which the President has come in for his full share.

"Although the article in question meets with my disapproval, and I entertain no doubt of the loyalty of your Excellency, yet I can not believe it wise to proceed in the premises by military power. A large party in the State who would condemn the attack upon your Excellency, yet would not regard the writer as actuated by motives of disloyalty to the Government, and might, by such proceedings as you propose, be excited to a point of actual hostility of the State authorities.

"I am not clear either that as an officer in the ser-

vice of the United States I have jurisdiction of the matter.

"Whatever may be the views of the Administration as to interfering with the abuse of the freedom of the press, I have never been informed of them, and could not, unless I believed that serious disaster would result, adopt measures to place the press under restraint.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your Excellency's obedient servant,

"F. A. Dick,

"Lieutenant Colonel, Provost Marshal General."

For that letter let Colonel Dick be honored. The time has not yet come when the Executive of Missouri can not be talked about and written about, concerning his official policy. When that time does come, let every honest patriot move out of the State, and leave him to rule over traitors.

There is a subsequent history, which connects itself with this correspondence, and which gives further indication of Governor Gamble's disposition. Colonel Dick had, during General Curtis's administration of this Department, performed the Duties of Provost Marshal General under a commission which brought him no compensation. When General Schofield succeeded to the command, he desired to retain Colonel Dick in his position; but the latter could not continue in it, unless he should receive a commission which would bring him some compensation for his services. Governor Gamble refused to give him a commission suitable to the position; but found one readily for Colonel Broadhead, concerning whom it has been published in a newspaper in this city, and never denied, that he said,

within the past six months, that "*Every damned Abolitionist in the country ought to be hung, with Chase and Stanton at the head of them!*" This is the choice which the Governor makes between men. Let him go on thus while he may, but in November, 1864, the waves of popular condemnation will overwhelm him and all who adhere to him, and engulf them out of sight forever.

Let us, my friends, late though it be, dissect this precious document yet a little farther. It says "*Another prominent characteristic of the revolutionists is their intolerance, and in this respect they have outstripped the Secessionists.*" Intolerance toward whom? Toward loyal citizens? Where is the evidence of it? When have we had the power to be either tolerant or intolerant? Governor Gamble has had all the power, and intolerance of Radical Union men has marked every step of his administration. If Radicals are intolerant, it is toward rebels, rebel sympathizers, disloyalists of every kind. The man who preaches toleration toward them, further than the law of the land requires, is no better than they. Are we to be branded as intolerant, because we don't want bloody-handed rebels to come back into the State and be our equals socially and politically? Because we regard a traitor as a fiend, worthy of death, are we intolerant? Because we scorn to court his vote, or to seek political power by his help, are we intolerant? Sirs, I glory in such intolerance. And I glory in the belief that just such intolerance will, in due time, by the mere force of an omnipotent public sentiment of loyalty, make Missouri too hot for all such creatures.

My friends, midnight approaches, and though you have listened to me with extraordinary attention, and though there is much more in this document, which might be commented upon and ought to be exposed, I feel that I can not trespass longer on your patience. These men have flung down the gauntlet of defiance to Missouri's loyal people. Why have they not done it before? Because they lacked the numerical strength. Why have they done it now? Because they have got their *rebel reinforcements.* They have arrived, and are ready for the conflict with the Loyalty of Missouri in the field of civil contest. I will show you where, in this document, these gentlemen say it. Listen. "*Thousands and thousands of them have renewed their allegiance to the Government, and become obedient to the laws, and many of them have evinced a desire to serve in the Federal army. Certainly this is a cause for congratulation.*" There is the secret of this ferocious assault upon the Radical Union men of Missouri, and this daring attempt to rally every disloyal man in the State to the polls. Who in Missouri, who in the wide world, can any longer doubt that the contest before us is between Loyalty and Disloyalty—between the hosts of Missouri's unconditionally loyal men, on the one hand, and her hordes of traitors, led on by a few men of heretofore recognized loyalty, on the other? My friends, let us rejoice that it is our privilege to stand up for truth and right in such a cause. There is more glory in it than on the battle-field. Let us remember our duty on the 3d of November, and do it like men. Let us emulate the noble patriots of our sister States, the

tones of whose splendid triumphs are yet heard through the land. Let us bravely defend the purity of the ballot-box on the day of our trial, and, I believe, of our victory. Guard the polls on that day, to the last extremity, against illegal voting. See that no man votes who does not take the oath prescribed by law; and remember that every vote illegally given robs a loyal citizen of his franchise. Mark every man who has taken part in the rebellion, and yet takes the oath; and bring him to justice afterward for perjury. Pass the word over the whole State, that every Radical Union man is ready to sacrifice his life, if need be, in defense of the purity of the election, and these traitors will slink away, and patriots will resume their just control in our Government. Proclaim anew as our watchword—Loyalty *shall* govern Missouri! Make it good by your acts, your words, and your votes, and then will Missouri stand forth as noble in accomplished results, as she is in the spirit of her loyal people.

SLAVERY'S DESTRUCTION,

THE UNION'S SAFETY.*

The presence of this Convention in this city betokens progress, signals deliverance, and heralds freedom; progress in patriotism and fraternity, deliverance of the white man's mind and conscience from long thralldom to a despotic system of human Slavery, and freedom—*universal* freedom—to the American black man, after more than two centuries of bondage. The great mission of the nineteenth century to America approaches its fruition; and the first centenary of American Independence, which many here may live to witness, will resound with the rejoicings of white and black men, over a land from which the stain of Slavery has been wiped out. We could not have come here in peace three years ago on such an errand: we shall not need to come again three years hence; for before that day the mighty work will be done; Slavery will have ceased to be in this land; and every foot of American soil,

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*A speech before the Freedom Convention in Louisville, Kentucky, February 22, 1864.

purified by fire and blood, will be Liberty's consecrated home for all the ages to come.

Such is the glorious prospect, as we stand to-day on this "Lookout Mountain" of time, and high above the clouds through which we have fought our way to its summit, peer into the near future, from which the veil is being rent. Simple words and few, in the expression of emotions, befit this hour. We should first ascribe to HIM the glory, whose mighty arm has thus far held the American Nation up, and whose purpose that the wrath of man shall praise Him was never more manifest in the history of nations, than in the swift vengeance He is taking of the idol, for which the aristocrats of Southern Slavery shrouded this land in gloom. But as there is no night in heaven, so man can make no gloom on earth that Omnipotence can not pierce. The sun is rising; the mists of error are drifting away; the Nation throws off the shackles of enslavement to Slavery; and to-morrow, as it were, the noontide of freedom will blaze over a country where no man shall ever again be called, or be, a slave.

It is fit, my friends, that we meet here on the soil of Kentucky—Old Kentucky—brave and generous Kentucky—but, alas! in the hour of her country's dire need, "Armed Neutrality" Kentucky. She stood neutral once between treason and loyalty, and dreamed that the fires of war could sweep all around her, and yet leave her gardens unscathed. She thought to arm her noble sons for herself, but hosts of them armed themselves for the Union and Liberty. She looked

upon her country, and remembered her warriors' glory on many a bloody field under the Stars and Stripes, and her mighty heart would have yearned to that old flag again; but in an evil hour she looked upon *herself*, and the grand Union throb of that heart dwindled, for within herself was Slavery! She hesitated to be loyal, for Slavery was disloyal; she wavered in the path of duty for Slavery jostled her; she well-nigh chose to be conquered by force; but at last she stood erect and firm, and so she will stand to the end. Let us not too severely censure this good old State, for the indecision of that trying day. No man knows, but by experience, the power of Slavery over a people among whom it is a fixed institution; or can otherwise comprehend the bondage of thought and feeling it imposes on those who have been reared in its presence, and under its influence. I have experienced it in my youth in this very State, and afterward, for many years, in Missouri: and it makes me charitable toward indecision and hesitancy, there or here, in the first onset of the rebellion. But that day is past. Three years of Slavery's war upon the Union are enough to wean a world from Slavery; and old Kentucky must, like Missouri and Arkansas, and Maryland, be weaned from it—must cast off its traitorous embrace—must help to slay and bury it out of sight forever. Kentuckians, this is no idle talk. In all sincerity I say again,—yet not as an individual, but as the interpreter of passing events,—I say again, Kentucky *must*. She can not abide as she is; she must rise into complete and absolute freedom; for she can not, if she would,

become a part of the Empire of Slavery for which the South is fighting, but which, instead, is this hour as certain to be a region of freedom as if no slave had ever trod its soil; and out of that empire, and in the Union, and hemmed in, as she soon will be, on every side, by soil devoted to freedom, it were the miracle of all history, if she alone of all the sisterhood of States could defy the power of events, and hold to her bosom an institution, which everywhere else withers under the ban of the human race and the frown of outraged heaven.

But I am not here to speak to Kentuckians, so much as to Americans. Nor do I come to speak of Kentucky Slavery, so much as of American Slavery. This war has stripped the Slavery question of its local and State character, and made it a national matter. The point is no longer whether Slavery shall be a local institution, but whether it shall be at all. The issue is not now whether State policy, State Constitutions, and State laws shall protect and perpetuate Slavery in spite of the Nation; but whether, having proved itself a traitor, and steeped itself to the very lips in the blood of patriots, the Nation shall permit it to live. The other day this question could not have been safely discussed here; to-day it can. Treason and rebellion have left no "sacred soil" of Slavery on this continent. Freedom to assail Slavery is now as irrefragable a right, as freedom to worship God according to the dictates of conscience. Slavery is one and indivisible; and to assail it in Missouri or Maryland, is to assail it in Kentucky or Tennessee.

What it knows in one place, what it feels in one place, what it does in one place, what it demands in one place, it knows, feels, does, and demands, in greater or less degree, in every other place of its dominions. Everywhere it knows its own interest before any other; feels and asserts its own unscrupulous power; does its own work of domination and aggression; and demands its own supreme aggrandizement. Everywhere it is an aristocrat; everywhere the foe of the poor, and the companion and parasite of the rich; everywhere ambitious, selfish, and rapacious; everywhere intolerant and proscriptive; and, as the history of the past three years has verified, everywhere that it dared, cruel, bloodthirsty, and treacherous. In one word, it is written in blood all over this land, that Slavery is a PUBLIC ENEMY; and the whole mass of loyal Americans proclaim, in a voice like mighty thunderings, that Slavery shall be destroyed: and it will be destroyed, not in revolted States alone, but in Missouri, in Maryland, in Delaware, *and in Kentucky, too.*

Treating Slavery thus as a public enemy, it seems to me now, as it did not on the 1st of January, 1863, that the President of the United States, in the Proclamation which made that day perpetually memorable, came short of the stern demands of the tremendous exigency he strove to meet. In that Proclamation he dealt with *slaves*, as adjuncts and supports of the rebellion; when, in my poor judgment, as I see the case now, he should have dealt with the *institution of Slavery*, as the rebellion's source and strength. The

rebellion was the crime of that institution; and for that crime the institution should have received at his hands the death-blow in the entire land; for it is everywhere essentially the same in its relations to this war. It were as wise to attempt to execute sentence of death upon a condemned malefactor, by cutting off a hand or a foot, as, under the circumstances of this time, to liberate slaves in the insurgent regions, and yet leave the Slavery *system* untouched. Had the President proclaimed the instant and universal extirpation of the system, it would have been but the logical sequence of holding Slavery to be the cause of the rebellion; and the logic would have swept the heart of the Nation and the public sentiment of the world with resistless and boundless power. The Border slave States might for a time have demurred, perhaps growled, possibly attempted to resist; but, ere this, loyalty and patriotism would have vindicated the justice of totally destroying, for the country's sake, what aimed to destroy the country, and of exacting from the institution, as a whole, the penalty of its unparalleled crime against Liberty, Humanity, and God.

Not for censure upon the President, have I thus adverted to what I consider the defect of his great act of Emancipation. I thank him for that act, the human race is his debtor for it, and for it history will honor him. I only regret that he should not have seen his way clear to pronounce the doom of Slavery in the whole land. *But yet, may it not be that the completion of this grand work has been left by Providence to the loyal people of the Border States, as their special privi-*

lege and peculiar glory? They have sent forth their sons to every battle-field for the Union; but so has the North. They have poured out their wealth for the cause of free institutions; but so has the North. They have mourned over their slain in the battles under the old flag; but so has the North. In all these things the free States of the North, and the Border slave States have moved together, sharing the toils, the dangers, the sorrows, and the sacrifices of this unequaled war. But besides all this, it is for those Border States to lay upon their country's altar a nobler sacrifice than any the North can bring; it is for them to give the final, exterminating blow to that institution, which has wound itself into the deepest recesses of their domestic and social life, and their organized existence, and proclaim at once emancipation to the black race, and deathless freedom to the white.

I say the final, exterminating blow, because it is for those States to give it, so far as separate State action is concerned. With the full assent to my deliberate judgment, I hold that the Proclamation of Emancipation was a constitutional exercise of the war power of the Nation, and that in law, it did, at the moment of its issue, free every slave in the whole region embraced in its terms. And I hold, moreover, that it was no temporary expedient, like the marching of an army forward to-day, to be countermarched to-morrow, if strategy require; but a fiat of instant and eternal Emancipation, never to be recalled, and not possible to be recalled, so as thereby to lose a jot of its original and binding force. And such, I believe, will be the

judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States, whenever the validity and force of that Proclamation shall be contested there. But whether so or not, the Proclamation is backed up by half a million of most potent arguments, tipped with steel, which will never be sheathed, and ought never to be, till Slavery is admittedly extinct, in theory and in fact, in all rebeldom, and buried beneath new-formed Constitutions of Freedom, pronouncing its resurrection eternally impossible. If such be parricidal Slavery's righteous retribution, the limits of its territorial possessions are already dwindled to those of the Border States. To end it there, ends it everywhere in America. And there, powerless and cringing, it awaits the final, exterminating blow from the patriots of those States; and shall they not give it? That, my friends, is with us the great question of the hour. The source, the power, the very life of the rebellion is Slavery, and the rebellion will not survive Slavery's death. A bleeding country calls aloud for its destruction; the vengeful halloo of Justice is on its track; the Angel of Liberty brandishes her flaming sword across its path; History pants to record its downfall; and shall we shrink from letting fall the blow? Shall we, to whom is left only the hem of this poisoned garment, refuse to exchange it for the full robes of a freedom, for which we would be conscious of paying a price above what other patriots paid? Is the Constitution worth so little, that we will refuse to sacrifice this blood-stained institution for it? Is the Union so small in value, that we will balance it in one hand and Sla-

very in the other, hesitating which to choose? Is the transcendent honor of guardianship over Human Freedom such a bauble in our eyes, that we will prove faithless to the trust rather than abandon Slavery? For one, I say, in the words of Kentucky's noblest and greatest son, when asked under what circumstances he would consent to a dissolution of the Union—"Never, *never*, NEVER!" And from the graves of the Revolution, could our fathers speak, would come to us this hour the quick and stern response, "Never, *never*, NEVER!"

But it is not to be denied, that in every Border slave State there are many who deliberately prefer Slavery to the Union, and in their blind devotion to the former, can see no higher law of patriotism consecrating them to the latter. They are TRAITORS, whatever they may *seem*. Others there are who profess Unionism, but long for Slavery with the Union; yielding to the strange delusion, that, after all the horrible record of the last three years, there is yet room on this continent for both. They are but little better than the first. Others, again, love the Union, but, like Lot's wife, can not forbear to look back upon the Sodom of Slavery, though fire is raining upon it, and they stand, like her, congealed, with their steps toward the Union, but their faces toward Slavery. Still others deny unwillingness to give up Slavery for the Union's sake, but whine at losing their "niggers" without being paid for them, and quote emphatically the Constitutional declaration that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compen-

sation; but do not remember, that, until Slavery pays back to the Nation the thousands of millions of treasure which its war upon the Union has cost the Republic, there is "no money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated," out of which to pay for slaves freed by Slavery's own most wicked act. Others, again fall in with the advancing tide of loyal sentiment against Slavery; but see endless complications in the future of the enfranchised negro, and are vexed, by day and by night, with hideous apprehensions of negro laziness, negro pauperism, negro vice, and, above all, negro equality; and, bewildered and befogged, they wander in a maze, ever returning upon their own tracks; when a single glance at the star of the Union, like that of a storm-tossed mariner at his star friend in the northern sky, would point them to the haven, where the Union is the firm anchoring ground of every hope, and the still waters of patriotism give the only sure repose.

Meantime, the steady and impetuous torrent of events wears away the bared foundations of Slavery throughout the land, and the huge, unsightly fabric totters to its fall. Not a volley is fired in battle, on either side, but pours death into the vitals of Slavery. Not a bugle-blast sounds to the onset, but signals a charge upon Slavery. Not a shell flies through the startled air, but shrieks out the doom of Slavery. Not a moan of the wounded and dying on the gory field, but undertones the dirge of Slavery. Not a cheer of victory for the Union, but swells the world's rejoicing cry over Slavery, prostrate and given up to annihilation. And when that cheer bursts from the

throats of the hundred thousand slaves of yesterday—now the freed men and brave soldiers of the Republic; beside whom, before another anniversary of Washington's birth, will stand another hundred thousand of their black brothers, armed to defend their new-found freedom and the country that bestowed it; then may all who still cling to Slavery know, that it were as easy to call the unnumbered dead of this war from their graves, as to reinfuse life into the dead corpse of American Slavery! Is this fanaticism? Is it enthusiasm? Is it exaggeration? Is it even extravagance? No, my friends, it is sober, solemn truth—such truth as ought to be spoken from the house-tops through all the Border States, and nowhere more than in this ancient Commonwealth. The people of all those States will be wise to hear and heed it. Presently, like the imprisoned drop of water, which, acted upon by fire, has expansive power to rend a mountain, it will hurl the battlements of Slavery from their solid base, and upon their crushed and shapeless fragments will rise a new temple of Liberty, with this grand inscription over its wide and open portals—"HERE WAS SLAVERY: HERE IS FREEDOM!"

Let us pursue yet further a train of thought which the reference to the colored troops of the Nation presents. I recall no instance in history of so signal a retribution, as impends over the Southern people at the hands of their former slaves. They raised the cry of revolt, dreaming not that on their own plantations, in their own cities, towns, and villages, at their own firesides, in their very parlors and chambers, there

was a dormant army of freedom, which, once waked up, would never sleep again. They marched forth to battle for Slavery, leaving slaves behind them, and look back to see them free. They left human chattels in their rear; and behold, the chattels have become men. They held them to be soulless masses of bone and muscle; and lo, a life and a soul have been breathed into them. They parted with abject menials, who now confront them as stalwart soldiers, never again to call them "Master!" These soldiers have sprung, as it were, from the dragon's teeth of rebellion, sown broadcast over the South, in the fury of a savage onslaught upon Freedom for the sake of Slavery. Mark in this the self-invoked vengeance upon crime. These dark columns of the sons of Africa are the counter-revolution which is to paralyze Southern treason. From the day when the arms of the Union were confided to their hands, and they marched under the grand old flag to the conflict with its foes, if never before, the fate of the rebellion and of Slavery was irrevocably sealed, and the foot of the black man was destined to tramp down the earth into the grave where both shall lie dead together. From that day the black race in America felt the power of a new manhood, and stepped firmly into the arena of a higher and a better life. Think you that race will ever again return to what it was? Think you that here in Kentucky, or there in Missouri, or Tennessee, or Maryland, you can forge fetters strong enough to keep one part of that race enslaved, when it knows that another part of itself is free, because it has fought for freedom? As

well expect to reduce a part of the white race in this land to bondage. The negroes buy with their blood the freedom of *their race*, and the Nation will secure it to the race forever; and when this great Nation speaks the word of enfranchisement, States will stand aside in silence. Justice, honor, generosity, all enforce the claim of the black race to respect, to confidence, to consideration, and to freedom. Let us face the logical result. The black man is henceforth to assume a new *status* among us, and to be dealt with on principles wholly different from those which, in the slave States, have heretofore shaped the conditions of his existence. He is to be hereafter a man, not a chattel, and he is to *feel* that he *is* a man. I say not that he is to be lifted into equality with the white man; but that he is to be assigned a position above that of former days; and that disqualifications, prohibitions, and degradations are to be removed, and privileges conferred, that he may know that the freedom he has won by his fidelity and valor is no empty name, but a tangible, steadfast, and inestimable reality.

And now, in view of these inevitable and most pregnant results, where is the wisdom of attempting to prop up a staggering institution, which must certainly fall? Why dream of lengthening out the brief span of time that remains to Slavery in this land? Why hope for good from its continuance, when you know that in a few more years at most—perchance *in a few more months*—it must ignominiously cease to be? Why not rather sacrifice the pitiful remnant of

it now, and redeem the precious time, by shaping the destiny of the enfranchised race which is to dwell among us, so as to make its four millions of men, women, and children a blessing, instead of a curse, to themselves and to the nation? My friends, these are momentous questions to us and to our country. Seldom have greater been presented to any people. Let us not shrink from the high responsibilities involved in their solution; but taking courage from the very difficulties that surround us, go bravely forward in the path of duty, rugged and thorny though it be, trusting, through God, to the early and final overthrow of every form of Slavery, and the glorious establishment in its stead of a true and universal freedom.

My friends, when in an after age the historian shall review this wonderful era in American history, he will be forced to declare, that nothing has been recorded in the world's annals like the changes which the feelings and opinions of loyal Americans have, from time to time, undergone, within the brief period of thirty-six months. They have not been the slow and labored mutations of years, nor the less tardy transmutations of a single year; but from month to month—yes, from week to week—as the ever-changing tide of affairs has rushed by them, men have put aside former views, and embraced others to which they had previously been strangers. This was no weakness or vacillation, but the obedience of the emancipated judgment to the impress of the times. And not the least remarkable, and certainly to every patriot the most cheering and inspiring, feature of these kaleidoscopic movements of

the public mind was, that there was *no step backward.* From the day of the secession of South Carolina to this, the loyal mind of the nation has moved steadily forward—not always rapidly, not always confidently, but always resolutely and sternly forward. In the beginning, our greatest statesmen were willing to make, and did make, concessions to Southern ferocity, for the sake of peace, which few now would venture to support or propose. Then, and long after actual war had been waged, you heard little from any quarter of the agency of Slavery in precipitating a conflict which convulsed the Nation and astounded the world; but you did hear much of the Abolitionists, as its provokers and abettors; until it really seemed that they would be written down the head devils of this civil strife, and the rebel leaders be canonized as heroic saints in the martyrology of Liberty. No wonder this; for the North had not yet begun to cast off the fetters, with which, from the foundation of the Government, the South had most adroitly bound it to the cause of Slavery. Do you not remember the promptness with which the President, in September, 1861, commanded Fremont to revoke his General Order declaring that the slaves of rebels should be freed? Do you forget the President's Proclamation, in May, 1862, annulling Hunter's declaration of freedom to the slaves in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida? Both of these acts chilled and depressed the rising sentiment of the Nation against Slavery, and accumulated formidable obstacles to its progress. But the policy which they indicated could not be adhered to;

for you will remember, also, the President's warning to the South, in September, 1862, of the coming Proclamation of Freedom, and the issue of that Proclamation at the appointed time; and you will concur with me, that up to the day when he decided to strike at the rebellion *through its slaves*, the Nation had, in sentiment, advanced little toward the heart of the tremendous conflict into which it had been forced. From the day, however, that it knew it would not be held back by its Chief, it has gone upward and onward; hourly strengthening in the conviction that this is Slavery's rebellion, hourly taking a more advanced position of antagonism to Slavery, and hourly growing more rigid in the purpose that Slavery shall die.

And where do we stand now? Let us touch a few points in the history of the last three years, and read the answer. While, as a mere philosophical disquisition, such a review might not be of special interest, it will, if I mistake not, be found not only instructive in its exhibition of the progress of public thought, but highly practical, and eminently cheering to the friends of freedom, because demonstrating that the national mind has finally emancipated itself from every retarding and repressing influence, *and is prepared for a forward move along the whole line, against Slavery and for universal freedom.*

First, recall the celebrated Crittenden Compromise resolutions, which at one time commanded, apparently, so large a measure of public acquiescence, if not approbation. That they were brought forward by

their distinguished author, in the spirit of patriotism, and under the conviction that they would, if concurred in, probably avert the calamity of civil war, no man, I suppose, will question. But that no greater mistake has been made by any loyal statesman, than that which Kentucky's venerable Senator committed, in the framing of that plan of pacification, misnamed Compromise, few men who are more loyal to their country than to Slavery will deny. What were its terms? It proposed amendments to the Constitution as follows:

1st. In all the territory of the United States, then held or thereafter acquired, situated south of the latitude of 36 degrees and 30 minutes, "Slavery of the African race" should be recognized as existing, whether there in fact or not, and should not be interfered with by Congress, but be protected as property by all the departments of the Territorial Government during its continuance: which was no more or less than a Constitutional dedication of all such territory to Slavery forever.

2d. Congress should have no power to abolish Slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction, situated within the limits of States permitting the holding of slaves.

3d. Congress should have no power to abolish Slavery within the District of Columbia, so long as it existed either in Maryland or Virginia, nor without the consent of the inhabitants of the District, nor without just compensation to the non-consenting owners.

4th. Congress should not at any time, whether

Slavery were abolished in that District or not, prohibit officers of the Federal Government, or members of Congress, whose duties required them to be there, from bringing with them their slaves, and holding them as such during the time their duties might require them to remain there, and afterwards taking them hence.

5th. Congress should have no power to prohibit or hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, or to a Territory in which slaves were permitted by law to be held.

6th. No further amendment of the Constitution should affect the preceding articles; nor should any amendment be made to the Constitution authorizing or giving Congress any power to abolish or interfere with Slavery in any of the States by whose laws it should be allowed or permitted.

Such, in brief, were the leading features of Mr. Crittenden's celebrated proposition of compromise. Had it been submitted to the people, as he proposed it should be, it is not improbable, that, in the then distracted state of the public mind, it would have been ratified, if the seceding States had voted for it, and become a part of the supreme law of the land. Had that terrible calamity befallen this Nation, binding it, as it would, for all after time, a voluntary slave to, and propagator and defender of, the institution of Slavery, eternity would hardly have been too long for repentance, for such an infinite sin against Humanity, Christianity, and Liberty. But were the country required to act *now* upon this plan, who here doubts that Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, spoke truly,

when, within a fortnight of this hour, he said in the Senate of the United States, that an overwhelming and uncounted majority of the people to-day would reject it with unutterable scorn?

Next, recall the proposition which, in March, 1861, was passed by two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, to amend the Constitution, so that it should declare that "*no amendment shall be made to the Constitution which shall authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere within any State with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of such State.*" This was another chain to bind the Nation to Slavery; but we can glory to-day in the knowledge that its links will never be completed. Not a single State Legislature has voted to ratify it, and not one ever will. But, on the contrary, let our hearts beat high with hope and joy at the movement already progressing in the halls of Congress, so to amend the great Charter of our liberties that it shall abolish and prohibit Slavery, instantly and forever, throughout the United States of America! That, friends of Freedom, is the true solution of the Slavery question on this continent. It is better than proclamations, military orders, enlistment of negroes, or aught else that depends upon the power of the sword or the accidents of events; for it leaves no questions to be asked or answered after the sword is sheathed—no decision of the Supreme Court to be waited for after the record of the war is closed. Being the sovereign act of the Nation, done in conformity with the terms of the Constitution,

it will overleap at a single bound all squabbles and quibbles about State rights, strict construction, Virginia resolutions of '98, Kentucky resolutions of '98 and '99, and such like breastworks of Slavery, and will be the PEOPLE'S irreversible edict of Slavery's extinction. Do any doubt that such an amendment can be now adopted? Let every such doubt be banished. The auspicious day has come for this grand movement of the disenthralled Nation. The people are ready for it; the heart of the nation demands it; three-fourths of the States will ratify it; the world will hold jubilee over it; and the regenerated Republic, founded at last on the rock of universal freedom, will move down the pathway of the ages, luminous as the sun, firm as the solid earth, and enduring as time itself.

Again, remember the resolution adopted by Congress, in April, 1862, upon the direct and formal proposition of the President, declaring "*that the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of Slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State, in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such a change of system.*' That it was proposed by him with as earnest a purpose of good as probably ever actuated a Chief Magistrate, and was adopted by Congress with as sincere a hope of good as probably ever influenced patriots, I do not doubt; but it has quietly passed to its endless sleep, and will be heard of no more. Already the Nation has renounced the idea of *ransoming* the black race

out of bondage, and with giant strides has passed far beyond the "sleepy hollow" of *gradual* emancipation, into the broad and blooming plain of instant freedom.

Again, recall the annual message of President Lincoln, in December, 1862, in which, with intense earnestness, he urged upon Congress the adoption of a Constitutional amendment, binding the Nation to pay to every State, which should abolish Slavery at any time before the first day of January, 1900, a specified sum of money, in the bonds of the Government, for every slave shown by the national census of 1860, to have then been in such State. Listen to his urgent appeal to Congress in behalf of this plan:

"Is it doubted, then, that the plan I propose, if adopted, would shorten the war, and thus lessen its expenditure of money and blood? Is it doubted that it would restore the national authority and national prosperity, and perpetuate both indefinitely? Is it doubted that we here—Congress and Executive—can secure its adoption? Will not the good people respond to a united and earnest appeal from us? Can we, can they, by any other means, so certainly or so speedily assure these vital objects? We can succeed only by concert. It is not 'can *any* of us *imagine* better?' but 'can we *all* do better?' Object whatsoever is possible, still the question recurs, 'can we do better?' The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulties, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country."

Who doubts that Abraham Lincoln's whole honest

soul was in those words? But who doubts also that the plan he so carefully and conscientiously devised, was, like "the dogmas of the quiet past, inadequate to the stormy present?" It did not so much as ripple the surface of the public mind, already at that time far in advance of such an expedient as that. Slavery was fighting for its own dominion and perpetuity, not for payment for the freedom of its slaves; and the Nation was fighting for its own life and for Liberty, not for the privilege of *buying Slavery out;* and this plan of emancipation fell still-born from the President's pen. The ferocious and implacable South gave no signs of heeding it; and to the question "can we all do better?" the loyal States thundered back: "*Yes, a thousand times better; fight it out, fight it out, till rebellion and Slavery are ground into dust together!*" And the loyal States went on fighting, and will keep on fighting, till in that dust shall be written by the finger of time the warning legend to all the future, "EXTINCT FOREVER!"

One more reference to history will finish the contrast between the beginning and the ending of the three years of war, whose last weeks are now passing away. No authoritative expression in regard to the object of the United States in prosecuting this war, has attracted more general attention, and been more widely and frequently quoted, or more eagerly repeated and displayed by certain classes of men, than the resolution offered by John J. Crittenden, in the House of Representatives, in July, 1861, and adopted there, with only two dissenting voices, and four days afterward,

somewhat modified, offered by Andrew Johnson in the Senate, and adopted there with only five dissenting votes. As presented by Mr. Crittenden, it was in the following words:

"*Resolved, by the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States*, That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, now in revolt against the Constitutional Government, and in arms around the Capital; that in this national emergency, Congress, banishing all feelings of passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

To the mind now fully aroused, as that of the Nation is, to the true character of the war, and justly impressed with the nature and scope of its demands, this resolution is equally remarkable for what it contains and what it omits. It affirms that the war is deplorable; but ventures not to pronounce it treasonable, atrocious, and infamous on the part of the rebels. It declares that the war was forced upon the country by the disunionists of the South; but omits any reference to the object aimed at by them, the establishment of a piratical Empire of Slavery; for which they were ready and willing to sacrifice the country of their birth, and

the noblest heritage of free institutions ever vouchsafed to men. It recognizes that to prosecute the war on our part, was a duty to the whole country; but in the face of the manifest truth, that the subjugation of the rebels was the very first dictate and the most imperative demand of that duty, it explicitly disowns any purpose of subjugation. A large part of the nation's territory had been seized, and was held by the nation's enemies in arms, and could be recovered only by conquest; but an intent of conquest was expressly disavowed. The object of Congress in prosecuting the war, was to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and to preserve the Union; but yet, with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the rebel States unimpaired: as if the dignity of States in rebellion against the Constitution had survived their own unspeakable crime, and their equality had suffered no tittle of abatement by their willful self-degradation, and their rights, as States of the Union, had not been, by their own most heinous act, as completely renounced as if they had migrated to another planet. And, finally, the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the established institutions of those States is denied; when it was avowed by the rebels, and as glaring as the rebellion itself, that but for *one* "established institution of those States," no war would have been begun or thought of; and it was equally certain that, as long as that institution existed, the war would continue; and that, from the very necessity of the case, that institution would have to be put out of existence, before the war could be brought to a termination which would really and

permanently "maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and preserve the Union."

That either Mr. Crittenden or Mr. Johnson, or any of the one hundred and seventeen Representatives and thirty Senators who voted for that resolution, should not have seen the error—not to say absurdity—which characterized it, is not to be wondered at, or harshly commented upon; for the eyes of many had not then begun to be fairly opened to the real nature, motive, and object of the war, on the part of the rebels, and to the overwhelming necessity, which no sophistry could elude or effort avoid, of striking at the rebellion *through its cause*, and destroying its motive, by making its object—a great slave empire—forever unattainable. But nearly three years of war have rolled over the land, and by its deadly flames men see as they did not see at first, and of consequence think as they did not think in the beginning. Everywhere in the loyal States the truth has burst upon the people, like an eruption of Vesuvius in a dark night; and patriots see in Slavery, and in that alone, the cause, the motive, the end, the life, and the soul of the rebellion; and while "to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and to preserve the Union," is their holy and invincible purpose; they recognize that that defense is as futile as blows in the air, unless they overthrow that "established institution," which can no more live and let the Union live, than fire and water can be combined in harmony. Yes, my friends, let the truth be spoken fearlessly in this earnest hour, for its own sake and for our country's. This war is no longer waged, and

never again will be waged by the loyal people of the Nation to maintain the Constitution and preserve the Union, without conquest, or subjugation, or interference with established institutions of the Rebel States; but it is henceforth to be, distinctly and avowedly, a war for the conquest of the ravished domain of the Union—a war for the absolute, unconditional, and permanent subjugation, aye, and if need be, the complete extermination of the rebels in arms—and above and beyond these, a war for the utter overthrow and final extirpation of Southern Slavery: all to the great end of maintaining the Nation's integrity, vindicating its supreme dominion over every foot of its soil, and sacredly preserving its Union and Constitution; without which Independence is a myth, Freedom a mockery, the past a failure, the present a disgrace, and the future a hopeless blank. If we can not face this mighty truth, are we not unfit for the tempestuous times in which our lot is cast? If we shun to declare it in every place and presence, are we not false to the precious trust committed to us? And if the Nation fails to act upon it, might it not as well cease to act at all, and send Fernando Wood to Richmond, to sue for peace on any terms?

I trust, my friends, that this brief review of the Nation's progress in patriotic sentiment and purpose, will have accomplished its object in carrying to your minds the cheering assurance, that, whatever head-winds and tides we may have to contend with, we need have no fears hereafter of our loyal brethren in the Border States, or in the North. In the face of many

discouragements and distracting influences, they have at last risen to the full height of the emergency, and profoundly moved by the great but slowly learned truth which I have just expressed, are ready to press forward with us over every obstacle, to the final overthrow of the rebellion and Slavery together, and the perfect establishment of the Republic on the imperishable principles of UNIVERSAL FREEDOM.

It is the intense and irresistable belief in, and undying purpose to avow and act upon, that truth, which, in Missouri, distinguishes Radicalism from Conservatism, and has supported the Radicals of that wronged and outraged State through a severe and unequal conflict, for more than a twelvemonth past. The nature and incidents of that conflict are known to the world, and need not be recounted here. Suffice it to say, that it sprung from the inherent and irreconcilable antagonism between Freedom and Slavery, and consequently between Loyalty and Disloyalty. It has been bravely and steadfastly met by the Radicals there, in the unhesitating conviction of right, against such odds as no loyal party in any loyal State has ever before encountered, and in the face of such combinations of official and personal power and influence, as would have borne down any but a righteous cause. And it will again be encountered by them, patiently and faithfully through the fiery scenes which the present year will display, to the glorious and lasting triumph which awaits them.

Friends of Freedom! is it possible to confine that conflict within the borders of Missouri? Are there

no Radicals in the nation, but those that have sprung from her sufferings and wrongs? Look abroad over the country—look around you here in Kentucky, and see that the conflict does exist elsewhere than in Missouri; and sound the depths of your hearts, and learn that there are Radicals besides those of Missouri. The issue, upon one side or the other of which every man in the nation must be ranged, is fully made up, between that Radicalism which will venture all, do all, and brave all for the Union and Freedom, and that Conservatism which, assuming loyalty, hangs back from the advanced positions of patriotism; professes enmity to Slavery, and yet cringes to it; avows hostility to treason, and yet courts traitors for partisan ends; ever finds something strong and resolute which it were wise not to venture; something prompt and effective, that had better not be done; something daring and aggressive, which it is discretion not to brave; and is content to stake less than all for country, that it may more cheaply win all for *itself*. When between two such forces the country's safety hangs, it is time that the banner of Radicalism should be unfurled beyond the narrow limits of Missouri. *The Nation* should behold it. Why not raise it *here?* and why not on this birthday of Washington? Is there any better place or day? We have come to fling it to the breeze, and to plant it in the front rank, and we will do it. It is no paltry ensign of sectionalism, no drabbled banner of party, but the grand old standard of the Republic, with every broad stripe still firm and unstained; and look! with one more star in its azure

field, than when treason struck at the beaming constellation; and that one riven, by her own blood-stained hand, from once brilliant, now poor, dismembered, fallen "Old Virginia!" And see! its spreading folds reveal an inscription, inwoven in letters of gold, flashing in the orient sunlight! What are the words? Read them, ye downcast and oppressed, for they speak hope and cheer to you; read them, friends of Freedom, for they tell you of a brighter day; read them, champions of Slavery, for they proclaim your discomfiture; read them traitors, for they thunder anathemas to you, as they say—"THE UNION WITHOUT A SLAVE; THE CONSTITUTION, AMENDED, TO FORBID SLAVERY FOREVER; AND THE ARMS OF THE NATION TO UPHOLD THAT UNION AND THAT CONSTITUTION TO THE LATEST GENERATION!"

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